THE GREEKS
AND
THE MAURYAS

SENARAT PARANAVITANA



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PREFACE

I have attempted in this work to place before scholars and historians the contents of those documents (see Chapter 1 for their nature and discovery) which reveal the knowledge possessed by a few among the learned men in Śrīvijaya, Ceylon and South India, about the history and culture of Greece, those which throw light on the history of the Mauryas and those which refer to the Yavana rulers in Bactria and in India. So far as possible, the facts brought to light are given in the form of a translation of the documents themselves.

The first of these documents which I casually encountered while I was engaged in examining an estampage of Side A of the Māḍilla inscription, was that which opens with the words "Aristātalācarya (Aristotle) was the pupil of Plātavācārya (Plato)". It was a strange experience, on a quiet night in June 1964, to read the names of these leaders of Greek thought in a Sanskrit passage scribbled on a stone pillar bearing an inscription in the Sinhalese script of the ninth century (No. 7 in the list of inscriptions at p. 127), and it took some time to convince myself that I was not the victim of some sort of hallucination.

The same passage was encountered a few days later in a better preserved condition on the Mayilagastoṭa pillar, now hidden in the Colombo Museum. Other passages containing accounts of the exploits of Alexander the Great, and of Greek culture and literature, were read on those two pillars. Documents of similar content continued to be deciphered, along with those of a different character, during the months and years that followed, until the collection dealt with in this work was accumulated. The document in this collection that was read last, i.e. in December 1969, was the account of Antimachos Theos, found in an estampage of Face D of Inscription No. 18. The same document has later been met with in better preserved condition on other stones.

Hundreds of hours of concentrated attention have been devoted to the reading of these documents. The discrimination of these documents from writings incised earlier as well as later in the same place as these, was not an easy task. This arduous labour and that of preparing the documents for publication, were undertaken and carried out under many difficulties. Much of the shortcomings in the manner of presenting these documents and their contents to the critical consideration of scholars—shortcomings about which I am more conscious than any of my critics—have been due to this reason.

Some documents and passages having a bearing on those included in the present work have been noticed and read since its printing was taken in hand. Brief references to the more important of them may not be out of place in this Preface.

A question asked by many people is: "How did the scholars of Ceylon and Śrīvijaya in medieval times acquire a knowledge of Greek and Latin?" A reply to this question can now be given by means of a document that has been written on more than one stone, and has recently been read. It is said therein that Garuḍācārya (better known among Sinhalese scholars as Guruḷugōmi), not long after his return to Śrīvijaya after his sojourn in Ceylon for five years from about 1045, met a merchant from Surāṣṭra in India, named Gaṇapati, who had been forced to remain in idleness for seven months in Suvarṇṇapura (Palembang), awaiting the next monsoon for sailing back home. Garuḍācārya, in his conversations with this merchant, learnt that the latter had been obliged to make a prolonged stay in the Yavana kingdom (which at that time was the Byzantine Empire). Gaṇapati had gone to Persia for trade. There he learnt that certain types of precious stones were to be had cheap in the Yavana country. He therefore extended his journey to that land. While he was engaged in his business, he contracted an alliance with a lady of that country and, in his own words, "was bound thereto with fetters of love". He lived in the Yavana country for seven years, professing the religion of his wife, conforming to its practices and learning, not only to speak, but also to read the Greek language. After the death of his wife, he desired to return to his native land, but was not permitted by the authorities to do so. Finally, he returned home in disguise with a company of Persian merchants.

Garuḍācārya, who must have remembered some of the references to Yavanas (Yonas) in Sanskrit and Pāli literature, was curious about the nature of the Yavana language. Gaṇapati gave some words of common occurrence and Garuḍācārya was struck with the similarity that some of them had with Sanskrit words of the same meaning. He asked Gaṇapati whether the latter was familiar with ancient Greek, and was surprised to be replied that there was little or no difference between Greek as it was then spoken and the ancient language.

Garuḍācārya then inquired whether Gaṇapati could supply him with a Grammar, so that he could himself study Greek, and was surprised when the merchant told him that Greek was not learnt by studying grammar, but by straightaway reading a book. Asked whether he had in his possession a book which he could read with the help of Gaṇapati, the latter produced a copy of the *History* of Herodotus. For three months, Garuḍācārya read Herodotus with Gaṇapati. At the end of this time he could read it without the other's help. Asked whether he had other Greek books with him, Gaṇapati replied in the negative, but added that Arab merchants who returned from the Yavana country often brought Greek books with them. If Garuḍācārya were to inquire from Arab merchants who came to Suvarṇṇapura, he could obtain Greek books through them. Garuḍācārya did so, and in course of time had a considerable collection of Greek books,

which he read and improved his knowledge of that language.

Garuḍācārya, it is said, acquired some knowledge of Latin from a Prangi (West European) merchant who came to Suvarṇṇapura, and was obliged to make a stay of some months at that port. Later, he improved his knowledge of Latin by associating with a Papal nuncio, a member of the College of Propaganda, who is said to have visited Palembang and spent several months there. The knowledge of Greek and Latin, thus acquired, was passed on by Garuḍācārya to his pupils.

About two decades after this, the Rūma (Byzantine) merchant, named Alexander, to whom reference has been made in many places in our work, came to Suvarṇṇapura (Palembang) and spent five years there. He is said to have acquired a good knowledge of Sanskrit, and propounded his theory which, seven centuries later, was formulated with greater success by Sir William Jones.

Garuḍācārya was impressed by the more practical character of the methods adopted in Latin grammar when compared with the system of Pāṇini. He is said to have written a Sanskrit Grammar in which some of the methods of Latin grammarians was adopted. For instance, he gave more prominence to syntax than is usual in Sanskrit works on grammar. Following Latin grammarians, he divided the sentence into two parts, the subject (*ukta*) and the predicate (*pradiṣṭa*), and dealt with the concord between the two. Garuḍācārya, when he visited the Pāla kingdom, is said to have presented pandits there with copies of his grammatical work, which was current at one time among pandits in Bengal. It is said to have been due to the influence of Garuḍācārya's work that the terms *ukta* and *anukta* have been adopted in *Mugdhabodha* and *Sārasvata*, and that the former has a rule (No. 280) in which it is laid down that the subject of a sentence (*ukta*) must be in the first (nominative) case. It is noteworthy that the term *ukta*, which occurs in these two grammars, is not found in earlier treatises on Sanskrit grammar, though the term *anabhihita*, which has the same meaning as *anukta*, is given in a rule of Pāṇini. The term *pradiṣṭa*, adopted by Garuḍācārya for the predicate, has not found favour with any Sanskrit grammarian who generally has followed Pāṇini by leaving the concord between subject and predicate to be learnt by observing conventions.

It is said that the use of the term *mahāprāṇa* to denote aspirates, was first adopted by the pandits of Suvarṇṇapura who were acquainted with Sanskrit, as well as Greek and Latin. They, it is said, were led to the adoption of this term by observing the two spirits or breathings of Greek vowels, called *Asper* and *Lenis*, and the spelling in Latin characters of Greek names containing the letters *theta* and *phi*. The use of the term *mahāprāṇa* to denote aspirates led to non-aspirates being called *alpaprāṇa*. So far as I am aware, the terms *mahāprāṇa* and *alpaprāṇa* do not occur in any Sanskrit grammatical work earlier than the

Madhya-Siddhānta-kaumudī of Varadarāja written as late as the seventeenth century. There was intercourse between the scholars of South India and Śrīvijaya up to the fifteenth century. The use of the term could therefore have been originally adopted by South Indian scholars from their colleagues in Śrīvijaya. The writings of the pandits of Suvarṇṇapura are now lost; how far the claims made for them in our documents are trustworthy, cannot therefore be tested.

* * *

In the account of Mayanendra given in the *Paramparāpustaka* (see pp. 95 ff), the Śuṅga king who was his contemporary is referred to as Agnimitra, the son of the founder of that dynasty, who is usually referred to as Puṣyamitra. Mayanendra (Menander) laid siege to Sāketa; it has been suggested that it was this event that is referred to in a grammatical example in the *Mahābhāṣya* illustrating the use of the past tense. In the same work, there is another example, referring to the sacrifice (presumably undertaken to celebrate a victory) by Puṣyamitra, to illustrate a verb in the present tense. These two examples from the *Mahābhāṣya* may be quoted as establishing that the celebrations of victory by Puṣyamitra happened after the siege of Sāketa, and that, therefore, he was later in date than Mayanendra, thus contradicting our account.

To such an argument, it may be replied that the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* does not refer to the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty by the name Puṣyamitra, which is not given as his name by any ancient source other than the Purāṇas. The uncorroborated evidence of the Purāṇas in a matter like this cannot be accepted as quite reliable. According to the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, Puṣyamitra was the second son of Agnimitra who succeeded his elder brother, called Vasujyeṣṭha in the Purāṇas. Puṣyamitra, the son of Agnimitra, it is said in the *Rvp*, waged war with Bṛhatsvātimitra, and recovered possession of Pāṭaliputra. He also had other military successes. This king, the fourth ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty, like the first, is said to have been known as Senāpati. Very likely, it is this fourth Śuṅga ruler who is called Senāpati Puṣyamitra in an inscription from Ayodhyā.

It is sad to reflect that Bṛhatsvātimitra, who checked the onrush of the Yavanas, came to an inglorious end in his struggle against Puṣyamitra. Having been defeated by the Śuṅga army, he offered to return to his former allegiance to that power. He was asked to come and take the oath of allegiance, but when he presented himself before the Śuṅga conqueror, he was treacherously done to death.

* * *

Yuvakratudha, the son of Devapriya, the last king of Bāhlīka, is said to have been a descendant of Yuvakratudha, a general of Alexander the Great (p. 101). Divyadyota (Diodotos) claimed descent from Yuvasthadhīmat, also a general of Alexander the Great (see p. 89). It thus becomes apparent that there was a dynastic change in the Bāhlīka kingdom by which the descendants of Euthydemus were ousted from power. According to the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, this occurred while Antialcidas was in India, trying to settle old scores with the son of Dhīmitra (p. 97). General Yuvakratudha, who had been entrusted with the administration of the Bāhlīka kingdom during the absence of Antialcidas in India, seized power himself, and was awaiting the return of his master, to seize and slay him. Antialcidas came to know of this and, returning to Taxila, begged for asylum from Menander, who was generous enough to give protection to his erstwhile enemy in the hour of his peril.

This Antialcidas or Sūryadvāra was a son of Strātava or Divyadyota (Diodotos) the second, who was the son of the first of that name. Yuvakratudha (Eucratides) who usurped the kingdom, was succeeded by his son of the same name and the son of this Yuvakratudha II was Devapriya, conquered by Mogharāja. Thus, according to the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, there were seven independent Greek rulers of the Bāhlīka kingdom, including Ātreyīmātṛka.

The Sanskrit texts of the documents which are the sources of the historical narrative and other information included in this volume, have also been given in full, except in one or two instances. The text of each document has been the result of the examination of a number of stones on which it has been found indited. But these texts are not claimed to be "critically" edited. That type of work requires ample resources and a large band of assistants, which were not available to me. But all possible care has been taken to make the texts as reliable as possible. The repetition of the same type of phraseology in various documents has been helpful in filling the gaps in certain places.

The Sanskrit of these documents is not flawless, and I have not considered it necessary to correct the ungrammatical forms that are not infrequently found in them. The influence of the author's vernacular is often apparent in the style of the language, particularly in the syntax. Ungrammatical forms occurring in a text as it has been indited on one stone are given correctly in another. There are comments about the accuracy of some of the unusual forms. It may be mentioned that the sixth case is almost universally used in place of the fourth. (For this peculiarity, see Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, para 294)

It has been stated in one of the comments that the use of the sixth case in place of the fourth was the normal practice among the pandits of Suvarṇṇapura. Some of the irregular forms common in other documents, such as *prāhiṇot*, have been found in epic usage.

The discovery of these documents was the indirect result of some epigraphical work that I had undertaken at the request of Dr. C. E. Godakumbure when he was Archaeological Commissioner. Dr. Godakumbure continued to supply

me whatever estampages of inscriptions that I required. This courtesy has been extended to me by Dr. R. S. de Silva who has succeeded Dr. Godakumbure as Archaeological Commissioner, and by Dr. Saddhāmangala Karunaratne, the Assistant Archaeological Commissioner (Epigraphy).

On the recommendation of Dr. Godakumbure, the former Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs had very kindly provided to give me, through the Archaeological Department, a certain amount of clerical and other assistance needed in the study and editing of these documents. It is a great pleasure to record that the Archaeological Department, under the present Ministry of Cultural Affairs, continues to accord these facilities. In this connection, I wish to express my indebtedness to the Hon'ble S. S. Kulatilaka, Minister of Cultural Affairs, and Mr. Nissanka Wijeratne, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, for their patronage without which this publication might not have seen the light of day. The former Ministry had also instructed the Director of Cultural Affairs to include this work in its publication series. The Director of Cultural Affairs, accordingly, requested the typed copy of the work to be sent to him to be forwarded to the Government Printer. But the typing of the manuscript had not been completed when this request was made. When the typescript of the book was furnished to the Director of Cultural Affairs, the arrangement that had continued between the Director of Cultural Affairs and the Government Printer for the printing of works of this nature had been terminated. That official, therefore, was unable to proceed with the publication of this work and the manuscript was returned to the author.

At this juncture, Mr. V. O. de Alwis Gunawardhane, then Manager of the Publishing Department of Lake House Investments Ltd., accepted this as one of the publications of that Firm. Mr. Gunawardhane read through the manuscript and suggested improvements in style in some places and also corrected the galley proofs. Mr. H. Amerasinghe, who has succeeded Mr. Gunawardhane as Manager of the Publishing Department, has extended his co-operation in the task of seeing this work through the Press. The author is also indebted to Mr. G. M. B. Herat who has taken a good deal of pains to bring the format of the publication to what it is. Dr. Godakumbure has kindly gone through the page proofs and the galleys of the Sanskrit text and detected a number of errors that had been overlooked by the author.

Most of the passages from the *Yavana-rājyavṛttānta,* the passages relating to the early history of Ceylon and the account of Dhīmitra based on the *Paramparā-pustaka,* were read by the author while he was Professor of Archaeology at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya. A paper entitled *An Account of Alexander the Great and Greek Culture in a Universal History written in the reign of Mahāsena,* was read at a meeting held at the Arts Theatre of the University of Ceylon

(Peradeniya) on 11th October, 1964. Another paper entitled *Recently Discovered Historical Documents Relating to Ceylon, India and South-East Asia,* was read at a meeting held at the New Arts Theatre in Colombo on 4th November, 1964. At both these meetings, the late Sir Nicholas Attygalle presided.

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CHAPTER ONE

DISCOVERY AND THE NATURE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Among the peoples of Indo-Aryan speech, the Indians, Persians and the Greeks enter the arena of recorded history before others of their kin, and have influenced the subsequent course of history right up to modern times.[1] The last named of these three peoples have left behind them a copious literature of historical works, containing objective accounts of the events which affected their destiny. They have also bequeathed to posterity numerous architectural, artistic and other monuments, including hundreds of historical inscriptions. The literary and monumental evidence relating to the ancient Greeks have been studied with great enthusiasm and skill by many hundreds of scholars for the past three or four centuries. We therefore know more about the ancient Greeks than of any other people of antiquity.

The early Greeks profited by acquainting themselves with the advances made in civilization by the people of Egypt and Western Asia. The arts and sciences which they learnt from these sources, the Greeks developed to a much greater pitch of perfection than they were by their originators. Guided by a spirit of inquiry and a rationalistic attitude of mind, the Greeks themselves became the creators of unique literary and philosophical masterpieces which were to remain as models for centuries. The Romans and other people of Aryan speech who came in contact with, and politically dominated the Greeks, became profoundly influenced by the culture of the latter, and this Graeco-Roman civilization became the inheritance of the various European peoples who have politically, economically and intellectually dominated the world during the last four hundred years. The achievements of science which constitute the great contribution of the European peoples towards the development of humanity, spring forth ultimately from the foundations laid by the ancient Greeks.

The flowering of the Greek genius, it is noteworthy, was consequent to the successful struggle which the Greeks waged for survival against another people of Indo-Aryan speech, namely the Persians. Of all Aryan-speaking peoples, it was the Persians who founded a great empire which, for the first time, included in it all peoples and lands in Western Asia and Egypt, as well as parts of the Greek and Indian worlds. No literary work containing historical accounts of

1. The Hittites and some other ancient peoples of Aryan speech, whose existence has been revealed by epigraphists within the last four or five decades, have not been taken into account in this statement.

the ancient Persian people written by themselves has come down to our times. But there are extant a number of long and informative inscriptions glorifying the deeds of the Persian Emperors. The main sources of our information regarding the Persian empire, however, are the works of Greek historians like Herodotus.

The Persian empire, on its eastern borders, included several provinces inhabited by people of Indic speech, the most characteristic of the Aryan languages. When the Greeks led by Alexander conquered the Persian empire, these three peoples came to know one another much more intimately than it had been possible before that time. The literary monuments of the Indo-Aryans, it is universally admitted, go back to a far greater antiquity than those of the Greeks or of the Persians. But this literature, as it is preserved today, is singularly lacking in historical content. Archaeological remains throwing light on the Indo-Aryans are not very profuse, and epigraphical evidence before the third century B.C. is non-existent.

It is the opinion of the present writer that the monumental and epigraphical remains brought to light during the last four decades in the Indus valley pertain to the Indo-Aryans. The pictographic writing on the hundreds of seals discovered at Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro and other sites of the Indus Valley Civilization, has been deciphered by him pursuing a clue furnished by the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon. The language of these all too brief documents is found to be an archaic variety of the Indic language known as Sanskrit.[2] These conclusions, it is true, run counter to the beliefs firmly held by scholars today, and are unlikely to find acceptance in the foreseeable future.

While the Greek genius manifested itself in unravelling the nature of material phenomena and their rationalistic interpretation, and the Persians have shown marked ability, not only in martial pursuits, but also in political organization and administration, the outstanding men among the Indians considered the obtaining of spiritual insight as worthy of their highest endeavours. About the same time as the flowering of the Greek genius in art and literature and the founding of the Persian empire by Cyrus, Gautama Buddha in India proclaimed a way of human perfection which contained a number of revolutionary departures from dogmas held as necessary in other religions before that time. According to the traditional chronology of the Buddhists of Ceylon, the Founder of their religion passed away, after a ministry extending to forty-five years, in the year 543 B.C. The founder of the Persian Empire, the great Cyrus, reigned from 559 to 530 B.C. If we believe the traditional chronology, while the horsemen led by Cyrus were carrying everything before them on the plains of Western

2. The inscriptions at Harappan sites comprise almost solely names and titles on seals, and do not give detailed information directly, as do the epigraphs of the Greeks and the Persians.

Asia, Gautama Buddha, with a band of mendicant monks, was going from place to place in the Gangetic valley, proclaiming the doctrine of No-soul, and exhorting the people to conquer without the aid of weapons of any sort. If any of the dates accepted by modern scholars for the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha be ultimately justified, the ministry of the Buddha falls within the reign of Darius, the consolidator of the Persian empire.

Though the Punjab was incorporated in the Persian empire, there is no evidence that either Cyrus or Darius, or any of their subjects, had heard of the Buddha and the doctrine which was preached by him. There is also no reference to the Achaemenian kings in the literature of the Buddhists, though the city of Taxila (Takkasilā) figures therein as an important centre of trade and a great seat of learning. In one of the sermons of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the Buddha is represented as pointing to the Yonas (Greeks) and Kambojas as people among whom there were only free men and slaves, instead of the fourfold division of *varṇas* that existed in Jambudīpa.[3] Whether this can be taken as evidence that the people of the Gangetic valley in the days of the Buddha had heard of the Greeks and the Kambojas, a people who were subjects of the Persian empire, will be questioned by some scholars, for the text of the particular sermon might have been redacted in its present form at a time subsequent to the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha.

In the Sanskrit epics and in Buddhist literature, there are references to great kingdoms of imperial status which existed in India before the advent of the Buddha, and the theory of universal sovereignty of the wheel-king was elaborated before the third century B.C., but there are no means of deciding how far these accounts of imperial sovereigns are based on fact. The area over which the Harappan civilization had spread was larger in extent than that of any empire which existed in Western Asia or Egypt, or in the Mediterranean lands, before the foundation of the Persian empire. As the Harappan civilization was of a uniform character, though the sites are at times several hundreds of miles apart from one another, it has been presumed that all these urban centres owed allegiance to one authority. But, as there is no consensus of opinion among scholars with regard to the creators of this civilization, it cannot definitely be stated whether the citadels at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were the seats of an imperial authority.[4]

The first great empire of India, about which we can speak with certainty, therefore, is the Maurya empire founded by Candragupta. It was within a few

3. *Majjhima Nikāya* (PTS Edition), Vol. II, p. 149. See also *Further Dialogues of the Buddha* by Lord Chalmers, Vol. II p. 85.

4. Sir Mortimer Wheeler. *The Indus Civilization* (Cambridge History of India, Supplementary Volume), pp. 15-16.

years after the return of Alexander's armies that Candragupta established his authority over the whole of North India, including large areas to the west of the Indus which are now inhabited by peoples of Iranian speech. The manner in which Candragupta expelled the Greek garrisons left behind by Alexander, and made himself the acknowledged ruler over such a vast extent of territory, is very briefly alluded to in the writings of Greek historians.[5] In Indian literature, the available information of a historical character about Candragupta is even more scrappy than that in Greek sources. While Alexander's career has been the subject of several historical and semi-historical works written by his own countrymen in ancient times, and that of Cyrus is known in detail from the narrative of Herodotus, their Indian counterpart has been singularly unfortunate in having been almost altogether forgotten by his own countrymen in later times. Worse still, his rise to power is said to have been due to the machinations of a wily Brāhmaṇa, and not to his ability as a general or statesman.

Modern historians all agree that the incursion by the Macedonian conqueror into the Land of the Five Rivers profoundly affected the subsequent course of history of the Indian sub-continent. But the name of Alexander is not known in the vast Sanskrit literature that is so far preserved. The Pali literature has a reference to a city named Alasandā, obviously one of the Alexandrias founded by the Greek Conqueror,[6] but there is no reference to the founder himself. It is true that the provinces run over by Alexander were in the periphery of the Indian world, and the garrisons stationed in the conquered regions by Alexander were expelled within a short time of the invader's return to Babylon. But the fact that Alexander's exploit made no impression on the minds of those who felt his power in India is worthy of note.

The Greek kingdoms established in the Punjab, Sindh and other parts of India after the fall of the Maurya empire lasted for about two centuries, and their armies penetrated to the heart of the Āryāvarta, but the references to these Yavana princes in the literature of India are very brief and enigmatic. The Buddhist literature, as is well known, has preserved an eulogistic account of one of these Greek rulers of the Punjab, namely Menander, who is said to have become a convert to that religion.[7] The accounts of these Hellenic monarchs of the Punjab, available in the works of Greek historians, are very sketchy, and their history has been hitherto limited to what has been gleaned by a laborious examination of the numerous coins left by them.

5. For what is at present known about Candragupta's rise to power, from Greek as well as Indian sources, see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 420ff.

6. See *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. XXIX, v. 39, *Milindapañha*, edited byTrenckner, p. 82,

7. *Milindapañha*, op. cit. p. 82, and *Questions of King Milinda* (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV), by T. W. Rhys Davids, p. 127.

This indifference on the part of the intellectuals of India to the events that rocked their land, has been attributed to the Indian mind being engrossed in the problems of the spirit, a view that has often been repeated, and even found poetic expression, but is invalidated by the existence in Sanskrit of treatises dealing with many subjects, such as erotics, cooking and even burglary, which are far from being spiritual.

But the fact that no Sanskrit or Pali work now extant, gives an account of the Greek invasion of India, does not necessarily mean that historical works dealing, among other things, with these events, did not exist in the past also. For the present writer has had the good fortune to discover documents written in Sanskrit which give the Indian version of the events narrated by Greek and Roman historians, and also embody accounts of personages and events not dealt with in these sources. These documents are of such a unique character, and the manner of their preservation and their discovery so unusual, that the scepticism which greeted the announcement of their existence is quite understandable. In an article contributed to the *University of Ceylon Review*[8] and in my book, *Ceylon and Malaysia*,[9] I have given an account of how I became aware of the existence of these documents. But as these publications may not be readily available to the reader of the present work, the account is given here also.

In June 1964, I undertook the re-examination of the slab-inscription found in the Abhayagiri-vihāra (miscalled the Jetavana) grounds, of which a very fragmentary reading has been published by D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe in Article No. 19 of the first volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. While subjecting the record to an intense scrutiny with the help of excellent estampages prepared by Mr. T. K. Jayasundera, I noticed that the indistinctness of the original writing on this slab has been caused not only by the weathering that the stone has undergone, but also by the presence of subsequent writing in very minute characters shallowly incised in between and over the lines of the record for which the stone had been prepared. Closer examination revealed that some of these interlinear scribblings are in the script of the twelfth or thirteenth century, others show the writing that was in vogue in the fifteenth century. The scribblings of later date have been executed on those of earlier periods. This process has been repeated several times, and at first sight this writing appears as a jumble of criss-cross lines scratched on the stone with no purpose. Intense observation enabled me to recognize the forms of letters here and there, and the writing of one period became distinguishable from that of another by the difference in the size of the letters and their form, as well as by the varying depths to which they have

8. Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 103ff; see also *Essays offered to G. H. Luce (Artibus Asiae, Ascona*, Switzerland), Vol. I, pp. 205ff.

9. Lake House Investments Ltd., Colombo, 1966.

been incised. After some days' struggling, it was possible to decipher a few words here and there. These established that this later writing, incised on the Sinhalese inscription of the tenth century, was in the Sanskrit language. Persistent efforts continued for weeks resulted in the decipherment of a continuous passage which revealed that these later palimpsests—as we may call them—give accounts of historical events. Needless to say, these palimpsests have not been spared by the elements, and only fragments are decipherable of some paragraphs.

The discovery of these interlinear writings of a later date on this slab was followed by the examination of other inscribed slabs which were originally meant for Sinhalese records of the ninth to fifteenth centuries. It was found that palimpsests of the nature described are contained on scores of stone slabs and pillars. A document incised on one stone has been repeated on several others. Due to this, the gaps in the reading of a document on one stone could be filled in with the version recorded on another. It was thus possible to decipher several documents in full.

The first document to be deciphered with great labour was a short Sanskrit poem, of which the opening verses are a continuation of the original Sinhalese inscription of Mahinda IV, neatly incised on this slab. This document which is of considerable literary merit, gives in detail the descent of the princess, named Sundarī, who became the *Mahiṣī* of Mahinda IV, and is referred to in the chronicle as the Kāliṅga queen.[10] She is referred to in this document as a princess of the royal house of Jāvaka in the Malay Peninsula. It is thus established that the region called Kāliṅga in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* was in Malaysia.[11]

A number of other documents among those that were the first to be deciphered dealt with the relations that Ceylon had with the Malay kingdom of Suvarṇṇapura or Śrīvijaya in the Island of Sumatra. The purpose of having these documents recorded in this strange manner, it thus appears, was to convey to future generations the intimate relations that existed between the royal families of Ceylon and Śrīvijaya, and the common struggle which these two states carried on against the Cola power, which at one time was successful in swallowing them both. Other documents narrate in some detail the relations which Ceylon on the one hand, and Suvarṇṇapura on the other, had with the Pāṇḍyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Pallavas. The rulers of the Kāliṅga branch of the Sinhalese royal family, who were instrumental in having these documents recorded, no doubt realized that they would not receive fair treatment from the historians of the Mahāvihāra; but when their opponents came to power, they tried to undo what had been done, by having other documents, at times giving a diametrically opposite view of things, inscribed over them so as to make them illegible.

10. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 54, vv. 9-11 and 57ff.
11. For this document and its translation, see *Essays offered to G. H. Luce*, op. cit., pp. 205ff.

A document written in this manner on an earlier inscription is often introduced with a statement that it was recorded on the orders of a certain ruler. The earliest ruler who had ordered the recording of these documents is Māgha, who ascended the throne in 1215 A.D. The writings effected at Māgha's behest are in tiny characters averaging .5 cm. in height, and sharply incised in a neat hand. Very few of these documents which were among the first to be recorded, have been left without being obscured by later writings. Some of the later writings have been scribbled over those of Māgha's time with the express intention of making them illegible. Others have been incised, renewing the writing of Māgha's time, after the latter had become difficult of decipherment. Documents had been written down at the orders of Vijayabāhu IV who supplanted Māgha at Polonnaruva. The great majority of the documents now decipherable have been written down at the behest of Parākramabāhu VI (1412-1467). These are in different hands and in characters of varying sizes, generally larger than those of Māgha's time. They are mostly in the script then prevailing, but some imitate the writing of the tenth or the twelfth century. Many are the writings dating from the time of Bhuvanekabāhu VI; these often give accounts contradicting those written in the time of Parākramabāhu VI. Alakeśvara who wielded power in the latter half of the fourteenth century, had an account of his own family and his achievements recorded on a number of stones.

Some of the documents recorded in this manner have been specially drawn up for the purpose. Others have been extracted from books on history which were current at that time, but are now lost. Of these we may first mention the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa*, the chronicle of Suvarṇṇapura or Śrīvijaya. The original *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa* (*Spv.*) is said to have been compiled in the year 777 of the Buddhist era, when Mahāsena was the king of Ceylon. The Buddhavarṣa that was prevalent in Śrīvijaya had its starting point in 477 B.C.; the *Spv.* was, therefore, first written in 300 A.D. The chronicle was brought up to date, and the original account enlarged, in the eleventh century by Mānābharaṇa, the son of Mahārāja Samaravijayottuṅga who restored the independence of Śrīvijaya by repelling the Cola armies of Rājendra-Cola in 1044. The original *Spv.*, as well as the later redaction, are stated to have been written in the Malay language; but the work was translated into Sanskrit and several other languages. The *Spv.*, naturally, is primarily concerned with the history of the kingdom of Suvarṇṇapura (Palembang), the rulers of which often exercised imperial authority over the other Malay kingdoms. But this chronicle also gives accounts of the various kingdoms with which Suvarṇṇapura had dealings. The kingdom of Suvarṇṇapura is said to have been originally founded by the Mauryan prince Sumitra, whose name is given in the historical writings of Ceylon as one of the princes who accom-

panied the branch of the Sacred Bodhi-tree to Anurādhapura[12]. In the history of Prince Sumitra, the *Spv.* gives an account of the foundation of the Maurya empire by Candragupta and in this connection refers to the campaigns of Alexander and Seleucus Nicator, as well as to the achievements of Bindusāra.

More important than the *Spv.* as a source for the history of the Greeks in India is the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* (the book of Royal Dynasties) written by Mahā-Buddharakṣita-sthavira, and preserved in the Abhayagiri-vihāra at Anurādhapura. Mahā-Buddharakṣita was a Sinhalese born in Ceylon. He entered the monastic Order in his youth as a member of the Abhayagiri fraternity. After acquiring a knowledge of the scriptures, he went to India and gradually drifted as far as the Pañcanada country (Punjab), where at that time (towards the end of the third century), there were still people of Greek speech and culture. In order to preach the Buddhist doctrine to them, Mahā-Buddharakṣita acquired a sound knowledge of the Greek language and literature. While residing in the Pañcanada country, Mahā-Buddharakṣita travelled to lands beyond the Indus as far as Central Asia, acquiring a knowledge of many languages such as Persian, Latin, Pahlavī and the Indo-Aryan dialects prevailing in various regions. While engaged in missionary work, he also made himself acquainted with the history and culture of the different peoples with whom he came in contact. After fifteen years in the Pañcanada country, he returned to Ceylon when Mahāsena was ruling at Anurādhapura. He had an interview with the king, and gave Mahāsena an account of his travels. Mahāsena was highly impressed with the historical knowledge that Mahā-Buddharakṣita had acquired, and requested the Sthavira to have it recorded in a book. The historian monk accepted this invitation,and the king made liberal provision for his maintenance and residence at the Abhayagiri-vihāra while engaged in the work. The book so written, named *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, gave historical accounts of a number of dynasties in India and in Western lands. An important section of the work was that which dealt with the history and culture of the Greeks and the Romans. This voluminous work, started in the twenty-fourth year of Mahāsena, was completed in five years in the third year of his son and successor, Śrī Meghavarṇṇa.

The *Rājavaṁśapustaka* was written in the Sinhalese language of the time; but there was a Sanskrit version of it as well. According to one account, this Sanskrit version was also written by Mahā-Buddharakṣita-sthavira. The king was highly taken up with the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* and recommended its study at the centres of learning in his kingdom. The monks of the Mahāvihāra, as may be expected, condemned the *Rājavaṁśa* as a heretical work, and its reading was forbidden to adherents of their sect. The king also had to placate the Mahāvihāra. Mahā-Buddharakṣita returned to the Pañcanada country and resuming

12. See *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, PTS edition, pp. 164f.; *Pārakumbāsirita*, vv. 10 and 11.

his earlier work, lived up to the ripe old age of ninety-five. When he died, the Buddhists of the Pañcanada country, it is said, built a Stūpa over his remains.

Mainly based on the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, a number of historical essays, each dealing with a region or a dynasty, were composed in the twelfth century by that great scholar, Buddhapriya-sthavira, who is well known to students of Pali as the author of the grammatical work *Rūpasiddhi* and the poem named *Pajjamadhu*.[13] Buddhapriya was born at Suvarṇṇapura. His father was a Sinhalese but his mother was of Malay race. Having adopted a religious career, he acquired a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, Pali and the local languages. He came to Nāgapaṭṭana in South India, and resided there for some time as the abbot of the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra, built by a Mahārāja of Śrīvijaya. It was while he was residing at Nāgapaṭṭana that Buddhapriya wrote the *Rūpasiddhi*. From Nāgapaṭṭana, Buddhapriya came to Polonnaru, and his *Pajjamadhu* was composed there. Buddhapriya added to his linguistic acquirements during his residence abroad, and is said to have been proficient in Greek, Persian and Arabic. It may be presumed that he learnt these languages from merchants who sojourned in Ceylon and Śrīvijaya. In the account of the Yavana kingdoms (*Yavana-rājya vṛttānta*), Buddhapriya supplemented the material gathered from the *Rvp.* with his own knowledge of Greek history derived from books, as well as from merchants and envoys coming from abroad.

The library of the Abhayagiri-vihāra ceased to exist when the three Nikāyas were unified in the reign of Parākramabāhu I. Copies of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* were not obtainable in Ceylon when Māgha came to the throne. An old manuscript of the Sinhalese original of the work, as well as one of the Sanskrit translations, were found in the library of the Mahārāja at Suvarṇṇapura. Copies of these were obtained, and the whole text was written on a number of stone inscriptions in the manner described above, a chapter or more being indited on one stone slab or pillar according to the space available. These extracts written down in the reign of Māgha have been noticed on a number of stones at Anurādhapura. They are now very faintly visible and only fragments of them can be read here and there. Extracts from the *Yavana-rājya-vṛttānta*, written at the same time, as well as later, are on the whole legible.

Another important historical work from which extracts have been recorded on stone inscriptions was the *Paramparāpustaka* (the Book of Traditions), written in the reign of Vikramabāhu (1111-1132) by Bhadra-sthavira who is described as belonging to the spiritual succession of Mahāmahendra-sthavira. He is said to have been the disciple of Suvarṇṇapura-sthavira (head of the Saṅgha of Śrīvijaya) and received his education from the abbot of the Abhayagiri-vihāra at

13. Malalasekera, in his *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, wrongly ascribes Buddhapriya to the reign of Parākramabāhu II. See *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 17-25.

Anurādhapura. Bhadra-sthavira's approach to history is biographical. He has selected a number of outstanding historical personages of different times and climes, and narrated their life stories, referring in the process to historical events with which they were connected. Most of the heroes whose lives are narrated are from Ceylon, India and the countries in which Indian culture still prevails, or has prevailed in the past, but famous personages of Greek, Persian and Roman history are the subjects of some chapters. Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus have each been given a chapter in the *Paramparā-pustaka*. The account of Alexander as given in the *Yrv*. is the same as in the *Pp*. It is therefore possible that the later work was copied from the earlier. The first three Greek rulers of the Punjab have each been given a chapter. The historical account of Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, is dealt with in much greater detail in the *Pp*. than in any other available source.

The author of the *Pp*. was acquainted with the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* and the redaction of the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa*, but there are many instances in which the *Pp*. has given an account of a historical personage or event differing in important details from those in the earlier works. The account of Candragupta is a case in point. Bhadra-sthavira therefore seems to have utilized earlier sources, now lost, which he considered more worthy of credence than either the *Svp*. or the *Rvp*. Bhadra-sthavira, it is said, possessed a knowledge of the Greek language, but there are instances, as in the case of the accounts of Demetrius and Euthydemus, in which he is at variance with classical historians, now preserved. He appears to have had independent works at his disposal, for the names of Persian emperors given by him are in the original Persian forms, and not as they appear in the works of Greek historians. On some stones have been recorded a list of contents of the chapters of the *Pp*.; from this it is seen that Bhadra's work was voluminous, and consisted of over two hundred chapters.

Extracts from the *Pp*. were recorded on these inscriptions mostly during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, though they have also been written earlier as well as later. Sometimes, the same subject has been dealt with in the *Pp*. as well as in the *Svp*; in some such cases, both accounts have been written side by side or one over the other.

Another interesting document recorded on these stones is a report of a discussion which took place at Polonnaru in the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) on the relative merits of the *Mahāvaṁśa* and the *Svp*. The disputant who spoke on behalf of the *Svp*. was Buddhapriya-sthavira, who has already been referred to. He quoted the opinions of a person called Alexander, the merchant from Byzantium (Rūma-vāṇija), to support certain references to the Mauryas and Greeks contained in the *Svp*. Parākramabāhu VI had exhaustive enquiries made about this Rūma-vāṇija, who is said to have spent some time in

Śrīvijaya in the eleventh century, and acquired great proficiency in the Sanskrit and the Malay languages. No reliable information could be obtained, and it was agreed by the scholars of the time that "Rūma-vāṇija" was a nom-de-plume of Buddhapriya-sthavira himself.

Opinions are quoted also of Garuḍācārya who is said to have possessed a knowledge of the Greek, the Latin and the Persian languages, in addition to that of Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese and Malay, and could read ancient inscriptions of Ceylon and India. Garuḍācārya, it may be noted, was the author of the Sinhalese classics *Amāvatura* and *Dharmapradīpikā*.

From the events that were then taking place in the Malay world and in Ceylon and India, Parākramabāhu VI and his advisers seem to have guessed that generations coming after them might not have the desire or the ability to cherish and preserve the books which have been referred to, and many others from which extracts have been recorded on stone, and adopted this unusual procedure in order to convey some idea of their contents to some persons who might arise in the future, able to acquire the information thus conveyed and to put it to the proper use. But the greater part of what had been written down with great labour has already been lost beyond redemption.

Chapter Two

GREEK HISTORY UP TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

1. General Remarks

The chapters of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka,* relating to the Greek kingdoms, whether in the original Sinhalese or in the Sanskrit translation, have not been met with in any of the inscriptions so far examined for the interlineal writings. It is from the sections of Buddhapriya's *Yavanarājya-vṛttānta*, so far read, that we can form an idea of the knowledge that the scholars of the Abhayagiri Sect in Ceylon possessed of the people of ancient Greece—Paramayavana lands, as they called that remote region.

Buddhapriya has dealt very sketchily with the history of the Greek people before the advent of Alexander. This is as one would expect. Neither the stories about the tiny kingdoms which flourished in the heroic times, nor the accounts of the individual city states and their rivalries with one another, could have been of interest to the average learned man in ancient Ceylon or in India. They had little or no bearing on the fortunes of any of the dynasties that flourished in India or Ceylon; nor did they affect the story of the spread of the Buddhist religion in the world, its achievements in the heyday of its prosperity, and its decline and disappearance in some of the lands in which it once flourished. The story of Alexander, apart from its intrinsic interest, was connected with the rise of the Mauryas, a scion of which dynasty was Dharmmāśoka, the great patron of Buddhism. Mayanendra (Milinda), whose disputations with the Buddhist sage Nāgasena were the subject of a book which was, and is still, popular among the Buddhists, claimed to be descended from one of Alexander's generals—though not of one of the front rank to be mentioned by the Roman or the Greek historians who have narrated the story of Alexander's campaigns. It is therefore natural that Buddhapriya has dealt in considerable detail with the successors of Alexander the Great in the Punjab, and that the *Paramparāpustaka* has singled out three of them as the subjects for detailed narratives. This is fortunate, for it is precisely with regard to the Greek rulers of the Punjab that modern historians are desperately in need of information. Greek and Roman historians have dealt with very sketchily about the rulers of a land so remote, in those days, from that of their own.

Buddhapriya begins his account of the Yavana kingdoms with the statement, made on the authority of the *Rvp.*, that many were the founders of ancient Greek

kingdoms. Among them were descendants of the ancient heroes Harikulya (Hercules) and Pārśva (Perseus), and those whose praises are sung by the great poet Gomāra (Homer) in the two epics of his, namely the *Ilyat* (*Illiad*) and the *Ayodhyeśīya* (*Odyssey*).

Buddhapriya continues that these ancient Greek kingdoms, in course of time, were transformed into city states, and that many of them became subject to the Persian empire. Of those which remained outside the ambit of the Persian empire, the city of Hastināpura (Athens) and Spārtapura are particularly mentioned. Those which were included in the Persian empire considered it to be advantageous for their trade. He then refers to the campaigns of the Persian Emperor Kṣayārṣa (Xerxes) against the Greek cities, the annihilation of the Sparfan troops who guarded a pass, the capture of Hastināpura and the destruction of its palaces and temples by the Perisan invaders, the continuance of the struggle by the citizens of Hastināpura, led by Sraviṣṭhakalya (Themistocles), from an island in the sea, the defeat of the Persian naval forces by the Greek navy, the return of the Persian Emperor to Viśvapura (Susa) with half of the army, entrusting the war against Sparta to a general with the rest of the army, the final triamph of the Greeks and the rebuilding of the temples and edifices of Hastināpura on a more magnificent scale than before, after that city had acquired an imperial status under Parikalya (Pericles). After briefly touching on the prolonged war between Hastināpura and Spārtapura, which weakened both these states, he refers to the formation of a confederation of Greek cities to wage war against the Persians, and states that the leadership of this federation passed to King Philippa of Magadha (Macedonia). Thus we are led to the birth of Alakṣandara (Alexander), the hero of the narrative.

2. Alexander's Career

"The great king Alakṣandara was the son of King Philippa; King Philippa was the son of King Alakṣandara; King Alakṣandara was the son of King Philippa; King Philippa was the son of King Alakṣandara; King Alakṣandara was the son of King Philippa; King Philippa was the son of King Alakṣandara; King Alakṣandara was the son of King Philippa; King Philippa was the son of King Alakṣandara. King Alakṣandara was the founder of the kingdom of Magadha." Thus has the pedigree of Alexander the Great been given by Buddhapriya, on the authority of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*.

The mother of King Alakṣandara, it has been stated on the authority of the *Rvp.*, was named Candravarṇṇā (Moon-coloured); she, it is said, was a daughter of Arthabhānu, a Satrap of the Persian empire, and died after giving birth to Alakṣandara. The *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa*, or rather its redaction made towards the end of the eleventh century, has it that a Maga Brāhmaṇa

came to the palace of King Philippa on the day of Alakṣandara's birth, and prophesied that the new-born infant would in due time become a great emperor. A Byzantine merchant named Alakṣandara, who sojourned in Suvarṇṇapura, has also obligingly confirmed that this detail is given in Greek books.

The *Pp.* has chronicled that the youthful Prince Alakṣandara's education was entrusted to Aristātalācārya (Aristotle). The Byzantine merchant could, of course, confirm this statement more conscientiously than in the previous instance. Prince Alakṣandara, it is said, proceeded to Hastināpura (Athens) and, having taken up his abode in the Sarasvatīmaṇḍapa[1] (Academy) of Aristātalācārya, diligently pursued his studies and returned home on their completion. Philipparāja thereupon entrusted the kingdom to his son and attained to heaven. The last expression, explains Buddhapriya, might indicate that King Philippa died after entrusting the kingdom to his son. But, we are told, again on the authority of the Byzantine merchant, that it was not so, and that the words "attained heaven" indicates that the old king retired to a temple, and spent his last days there. It is customary for kings in Yavana lands, we are assured, to retire to a temple in their old age, and to spend their days looking after affairs connected with this world as well as those of the next.

In this account of Alexander's parentage, descent, birth and education, as gathered from the authorities mentioned above, the basic facts of Alexander being the son of King Philip of Macedon, and that he was educated by Aristotle, are in agreement with the writings of classical historians. But the other details given above are not confirmed by Greek writers. Alexander's pedigree is very much longer than it actually was, and has been given in reliable Greek authorities.

1. Sarasvatī is well known as the goddess of Speech in Indian mythology. From this position, it was an easy transition for Sarasvati to be treated as the goddess of learning. The term *Sarasvatī-maṇḍapa* does not occur in Indian literature, or in learned use in India, as the designation of a place of learning. In *Kāvyaśekhara*, Canto V, v. 39, the school in which an eminent teacher of Takṣaśilā taught, is called *Sarasavi-maḍu* in Eḷu, which is the equivalent of *Sarasvatī-maṇḍapa* in Sanskrit. The compound *Sarasavi-maḍuva* has been adopted in Ceylon today as the designation for a University, but as the word *maḍuva* is not considered respectable enough to be associated with a place for higher education, where the sons and daughters of rich people foregather, the word *sarasavi* is used alone at present to denote a University, the word having changed its gender from the feminine to the neuter in the process. Thus we read in modern Sinhalese of the academic as well as journalistic varieties, of such expressions as *sarasavi-sisu* "university student", *sarasavi-vinaya* "university discipline", *sarasavi-hūva* "hooting by university students", *kaniṭu-sarasavi* "junior university" and *sañga-sarasavi* "university for *bhikkhus*". Śrī Rāhula, the author of the *Kāvyaśekhara*, is said to have studied Sanskrit at Suvarṇṇapura (Palembang) where, in the fifteenth century, a pavilion named Sarasvatī-maṇḍapa, with an image of Sarasvati at one end, was a familiar feature in front of the residences of pandits. It was in this *Sarasvatī-maṇḍapa* that pandits taught their pupils. Buddhapriya, by the use that he has made of the term *Sarasvatī-maṇḍapa* in his *Yavana-rājyavṛttānta*, has thus given an indication of his origin.

Rājasundara-paṇḍita, a learned Brahmin contemporary of Buddhapriya, was of opinion that the pedigree given in *Rvp.* had been copied from the Alexander legend that was current in the Pāṇḍya land, for that also gives the descent of Alexander in the same manner. But Buddhapriya was of opinion that Mahā-Buddharakṣita had given the pedigree of King Alexander as it was current in ancient times in the Pañcanada country (Punjab). The Greek rulers of the Punjab perhaps felt that the actual pedigree of Alexander, as given in the Greek authorities, was not long enough to impress their Indian subjects, who were familiar with long pedigrees of their own kings. They considered it necessary to lengthen the pedigree to an extent sufficient to gain the respect of the Indian people for the ancient lineage of their hero. But it is noteworthy that there is no reference to the descent of Alexander from the Homeric hero Achilles, which the great conqueror himself believed in. It is hardly necessary to point out that the name of Alexander's mother, the queen of Philip, is Olympias and that her father was Perdiccas, king of Epirus. An attempt has been made by Rājasundara-paṇḍita to establish that "Candravarṇṇā" is a periphrasis of the Greek name Olympias. Buddhapriya had communicated the opinion of the Byzantine merchant Alexander, that the city of Epirus was then within the Persian empire, that the Persian satraps were often of royal rank, that Perdiccas (Purādhīśa) may not be a proper name, but a title, that he might have borne a Persian name as he was a subject of the King of Kings, that his daughter, before she married Philip, might have been known by a Persian name, of which 'Candravarṇṇā' is the Sanskrit equivalent in meaning only, that the Greek historians, for obvious reasons, had not given her original Persian name, and have referred to her by a Greek name which she might have adopted after she became the consort of Philip. It is perhaps permissible to conjecture that the Persian origin of the mother of Alexander was a detail added to the story in Persia to make the conqueror acceptable to the Persians, and was adopted by the Greeks in the Punjab.

The detail with regard to the future greatness of Alexander being prophesied by a Maga Brāhmaṇa was most probably due to the legend of Christ being confused with that of Alexander by the author of the *Svp.*

According to Buddhapriya's account, the young prince Alakṣandara went to Hastināpura and pursued his studies at the Academy of Aristotle, whereas, according to Greek accounts, Aristotle was invited by Philip to his capital to undertake the education of his son. Buddhapriya's account must have been influenced by the many stories in the Jātaka tales in which princes go to Takkasilā to receive their education under the famous teacher Disāpāmokkha who resided there. On the authority of the Rūma-vāṇija, it is given in an exaplanatory note that the educational institution of Aristātalācārya (Aristotle) was called Akadamayya, which really was the name of the village near Hastināpura (Athens) in which it

was located, and that an educational institute is called *Skola* in the Yavana language, the meaning of the word being "a quiet place". This is not the only place in which the story of Alexander has been given a local colouring in Buddhapriya's narrative.

The curious detail about the Yavana king (Philip) spending his last days in the temple of a god is not, so far as I am aware, confirmed by Greek sources. Perhaps it is a detail influenced by the practice of Indian kings adopting the life of the *vānaprastha* in old age, and was introduced into the story to make it acceptable to Indian sentiment. The actual manner of the death of King Philip, as well as the unsavoury details of the domestic life of that monarch, and the violent quarrels between him and his son, are naturally passed off in complete silence as not suitable to be made known to the Indian subjects of the Greek rulers of the Punjab.

The name "Macedonia" has been Sanskritized as "Magadha" by Mahā Buddharakṣita. Buddhapriya has considered it necessary to warn the readers that this Magadha was not the land of that name in Mahā Jambudvīpa,[2] but was in the land of the Parama-Yavanas.[3] He adds: "The Magadha in Mahā Jambudvīpa is the land where the Doctrine of the Blessed Buddhas is revealed. Magadha in Parama-Yavanas is the land of Alakṣandara's birth. The Buddha is Dharmarāja (The King of Righteousness), Alakṣandara was a Cakravarti-rāja (Universal monarch")[4]. The benedictory verse introduced at this point by Buddhapriya, expressing the hope that the temporal authority be as beneficial to mankind as the spiritual authority of the Buddha, is worth quoting here in the original Sanskrit :

Dharmacakram Munīndrasyevājñācakram mahībhujām
Dharmasthasyāstu lokasya hitāya ca sukhāya ca.

"Like the wheel of the Law of the King of Sages, may the wheel of the Command of the lords of the Earth, be for the welfare and happiness of a world which has taken its stand on Righteousness."

Immediately after the statement that Alakṣandara succeeded his father as the king of the Magadha country, Buddhapriya begins the account of the campaign which resulted in the conquest of the Persian Empire, and the appearance of the Yavanas in the lands of the Pañcanada and Sindhu—the events in the career of the hero which influenced the course of the Buddhist religion in India and

2. "Mahā-Jambudvīpa" denotes the sub-continent of India, as distinct from "Jambudvīpa," a name which was at times applied to Further India. See *Ceylon and Malaysia*, op. cit, p. 116.
3. The name 'Paramayavana' occurs in the *Mahāniddesa* (P.T.S. Edition, Vol. 1, p. 155.) It was perhaps applied to Greece to distinguish it from other lands occupied by people of Hellenistic culture. In later times, the Punjab (Pañcanada) was known as Yavana. See below, p. 74.
4. *Cakravartin*, one who causes the wheel of authority to turn. For the concept of *cakravartin* among the Buddhists, see T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. 11, p. 192

elsewhere. The passage of the *Yrv*., dealing with the conquests of Alexander, is translated below in full: "King Alakṣandara, son of King Philippa, having been established in the sovereignty of Magadha in the Paramayavanas, and being desirous of conquering the Pārasika empire, made offerings to the gods such as Dyaus (Zeus), the Sun god, the Moon god, and the god of the Sea, who had come down from ancient times in his kingdom, organized his armies, crossed the sea and arrived in the Ludiya kingdom (Lydia). He defeated the Pārasika Satrapa who was there, removed him from his post and, in his place, appointed his (Alakṣandara's) friend, the minister named Anantapātra (Antipater), and entrusted him with the defence of the Ludiya kingdom and of the Paramayavanas. He then gave his soldiers their pay, made them content, made the commanders of his armies also satisfied by giving them presents, and entered the Pārasika kingdom, which was the heart (*mahāmaṇḍala*) of the Persian empire.[5] He then defeated and put to flight the Pārasika King of Kings, named Dhārayatuvasu (Darius)[6] who reigned there, and arrived in the city of Pārśakaṭaka (Pasargadae). He (seized) and despatched to his own kingdom, the imperial treasures that were there, gave his soldiers their pay and made them rejoice. He gave presents of gold and silver and garments to the commanders of his armies and made them also satisfied, and spent the three months of the winter there. When spring arrived, he proceeded to Pārśapura (Persepolis), seized and despatched to his own kingdom the imperial treasures that were there also, made the commanders of his armies content by making presents of ornaments of gold, silver, etc. and precious jewels, and his soldiers by giving them their pay. He wedded Rocanā (Roxana), the daughter of the Pārasika King of Kings, and begot a son by her. He also made the servants of the Pārasika monarch content by giving them presents such as garments, ornaments, food, drinks, precious stones, etc. When he was informed that the centre of the empire (*mahāmaṇḍala*) had been pacified, he despatched the commanders of his armies to conquer the territories forming the provinces of the Pārasika King of Kings, and the provinces were also conquered.

"From the kingdom which was the heart of the Pārasika empire, he proceeded to the Bāveru kingdom,[7] defeated the Satrapa who was stationed there and made the Bāveru kingdom also subject to the Central Pārasika kingdom.

5. The territories under the direct rule of the Central Government of the empire appears to have been indicated by the term *Mahāmaṇḍala*. In ancient Ceylon, the kingdom of Anurādhapura was known as the Mahāmaṇḍala-rājya. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 168, where the administration of the Central Government appears to be referred by the term.
6. Darius III, Codomannus.
7. Babylon. Actually, the conquest of Babylon and Egypt preceded that of Persia in the campaign of Alexander.

"From the city of Bāveru, he proceeded to the kingdom of Miśara (Egypt), defeated the Pārāśika Satrapa who was stationed there, and made the Miśara kingdom also subject to the Central Pārāśika kingdom. He (then) proceeded to Lakṣapura (Luxor) and, standing on the Circular Terrace (*maṇḍala-mālaka*) that had been established there, he gave presents to the dignitaries of the Miśara kingdom and the learned men of the Miśara kingdom, and made them rejoice. Then he entered the great desert situated to the West of the Miśara kingdom, worshipped the Yavana god Dyaus who had his abode there, received his grace, and returned to Lakṣapura. From the Miśara kingdom, he returned to Pārśapura, and while being there, sent a command to the Muruṇḍa king of the kingdom of Takṣaśilā (Taxila),[8] that he give over his kingdom to King Alakṣandara and receive his kingdom back from his (Alakṣandara's) hands. The Muruṇḍa king of Takṣaśilā did not accept that command of King Alakṣandara. King Alakṣandara arrived in the kingdom of Takṣaśilā, fought a battle with the Muruṇḍa king, defeated him, and gave back to him the kingdom of Takṣaśilā. He thereafter crossed the Sindhu river, arrived in the Pañcanaḍa kingdom (Punjab), fought a battle with the Muruṇḍa king named Paurava (Porus) who was (ruling) there, and defeated him. He was pleased at the great heroism exhibited by Paurava and gave back his kingdom to him. (Thereafter) he arrived on the (banks of the) river Śatahrada (Sutlej) on the left side of the River Sindhu (Indus) and, remaining there, he sent a command to King Dhanananda of the Magadha kingdom (to the effect) that he give his own kingdom to King Alakṣandara and receive it back from his (Alakṣandara's) hands. King Dhanananda of the Magadha country sent a return message to King Alakṣandara intimating that his own sovereignty had been surrendered to King Alakṣandara. King Alakṣandara having given back to King Dhanananda his kingdom of the Magadha country, and being desirous of returning to his own kingdom, sent Calukya Nikatora (Seleucus Nicator) along the left bank of the River Sindhu, and himself marching along the right bank, conquered the nations (*janapada*) and the Kṣatriyas residing on both banks, and arrived at the mouth of the River Sindhu. There, he fought a battle with the Grāmaṇeya Kṣatriyas who inhabited that locality and defeated them. Being pleased at the great heroism of their leader, Siṁhala, he contracted a treaty to give his daughter in marriage to Siṁhala, and remained there for several days, engaged in pleasant conversations with Siṁhala. In order to return to his own kingdom, he entrusted half of his army to Avanisukīrtta (Onesicritus) and Nayarāja (Nearchus) to travel by the sea route. He himself started, intending to enter the Desert of Vṛkavana (Mekran) in

8. "Muruṇḍa" is a synonym of "Śaka"; see Sten Konow's *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, p.xx. The people of the ancient Indus civilization appear to have been indicated by this term. See *Transactions of the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society*, Vol. I, p. 87.

order to travel by the land route.

"Siṁhala, on his part, remained entertaining King Alakṣandara with food and drink, accompanied King Alakṣandara on the road of the return journey to a distance of several days' marching, retuned to his own kingdom and remained there. Later, (Siṁhala) wedded Suvarṇnākṣī, the sister of Calukya Nikatora (Seleucus Nikator) and, having remained(in his kingdom for some time), arrived in the kingdom of Puṇḍra (North Malabar), uprooted the royal race that was ruling there, took possession of the kingdom of Puṇḍra, remained ruling the Puṇḍra kingdom, begot a son named Muruṇḍa Śiva, and having remained there for some time, died in due course. Muruṇḍa Śiva arrived in the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi, uprooted the royal race that was ruling there, took possession of the kingdom of Tāmraparṇṇi, remained administering the kingdom of Tāmraparṇṇi, built Anurādhapura, and died after having reigned for twenty-seven years.

"King Alakṣandara entered the desert of Vṛkavana and, having heard that his army was being harried by the barbarians who inhabited that region, fought with them and slew them, crossed the Desert of Vṛkavana with great effort and arrived (eventually) at Pārśapura. Having stayed there for some time, he went to the city of Bāveru (Babylon), and, while residing there, was struck by a malignant fever, from which he died."

The account of Alexander's Indian campaign as given by Buddhapriya, differs in some important details from the narrative of the events given by Greek and Roman historians. Buddhapriya has not given any details of the military engagements, being content with the stereotyped expression "having fought a battle". This is to be expected in a historical account written by a bhikkhu who would not appear to be glorifying war, though we would in the sequel meet with a remarkable exception to this general attitude. The narrative of Alexander's campaign being a brief one, its plan did not allow for descriptions of any sort, a bare enumeration of the salient facts was all that was intended to be given. The names of the personages who took leading parts in the events, as given in the *Yrv.*, are in agreement with the Greek and Roman authorities, with the few exceptions to be noted in the sequel. But the plan of Buddhapriya's narrative did not require the mention of many a name occurring in the classical sources.

With regard to geographical details, a discrepancy of note is the statement that the River Sindhu was crossed by Alexander's forces on his advance from the kingdom of Takṣaśilā to that of Paurava in the Pañcanaḍa country. The ancient site identified by Cunningham as that of Takṣaśilā is to the east of the Indus, and Alexander's armies must have crossed the great river before arriving at that city, as it has indeed been given in Greek and Roman authorities. The location of the site of Takṣaśilā at the site now referred to by that name, first made by

Cunningham, has been confirmed by numerous archaeological discoveries since his day.[9] Mahā Buddharakṣita, who spent many years in the Punjab before he wrote his *Rvp.*, and is said to have travelled extensively in the adjoining lands, would have been aware of the location of Takṣaśilā, which was yet in a flourishing condition in his time. It is therefore very unlikely that he was responsible for the error. It is quite conceivable that a later copyist unwittingly transferred the words meaning 'having crossed the Sindhu' in Mahā Buddharakṣita's text from its original position to another place, and Buddhapriya copied it, or that the error was due to the later author himself. Buddhapriya himself could not have been conversant with the details of the geography of Alexander's campaign; and, in his time, the city of Takṣaśilā had long since ceased to exist.

There is also another possibility. There were seven streams which were called Saptasindhu in the Vedic literature, and by the corresponding name in Old Persian. The Sindhu itself, and its main tributaries, were entitled to be called "Sindhu"; therefore the river which Alexander had to cross when he arrived in the territory of Paurava from Takṣaśilā could also have been called "Sindhu" by some at certain times.

Buddhapriya has it that the king of Takṣaśilā at first declined to swear allegiance to Alexander, and that it was only after he was vanquished in battle by the Greek forces that he submitted to the invader. The king of Takṣaśilā is called a Muruṇḍa, which epithet has been used in connection with the Paurava king of Pañcanada also. It has been pointed out by Sten Konow, Sylvain Levi and others that "Muruṇḍa" denoted the chiefs of the Śaka people. There are indeed many passages of the *Pp.* where the term "Muruṇḍa" denotes Śakas, but in the references given above to the rulers of Takṣaśilā and Pañcanada by the word "Muruṇḍa" Mahā Buddharakṣita meant the race to which belonged the rulers of the empire which flourished in the Indus Valley in remote times (the Harappans of modern archaeologists). Mahā Buddharakṣita has informed us that in his day several Muruṇḍa languages were still in use in some regions of the Punjab.

In the account of the Macedonian conqueror's encounter with the Paurava, there is nothing which is at variance with the Greek authors. After Paurava's submission, Alexander is said to have advanced to the bank of the Sutlej (Śatahrada)[10], and from there despatched a herald to Dhanananda, ruler of Magadha, requesting his submission by formally surrendering his kingdom to the Macedonian monarch and receiving it back from him. We are assured that Dhanananda sent

9. For the location of the site of Taxila, see Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1918, pp. lff.
10. The river called Śatahrada in our document is obviously meant for Śatadru, as the modern Sutlej was called in ancient times. *Śatahrada* appears to be more appropriate as the prototype of *Sutlej* than *Śatadru*.

an envoy to Alexander stating that he had done so. It was after Alexander had received Dhanananda's submission through an envoy that he started on his march down the course of the river Sindhu. There is nothing about such a submission by the Magadha monarch in the Greek and the Roman histories. If the ruler of Magadha submitted to Alexander through an envoy, there is no reason for Greek writers to ignore such an event, which would have added to the stature of their hero. It may therefore be presumed that this, too, is an embellishment to the history of Alexander added at the behest of the Greek rulers of the Punjab. We can easily guess at its purpose. These rulers, it will be seen in a subsequent chapter, exercised authority over territories which were included in the kingdom of the Nandas, and made claims to others which they occupied temporarily. The fiction of Dhanananda's submission to Alexander would have imparted a semblance of legality to their rule over these territories, and claims to others. The statement of the *Yrv.* that Seleucus Nicator and his soldiers marched along the left bank of the Sindhu river, while Alexander himself, with the rest of the forces, moved along the right bank, subduing the tribes and kings whom they encountered, is also a detail not attested by other sources.

But the most startling statement in the *Yrv.* is that about Alexander's encounter with Siṁhala, the leader of the Grāmaṇeya Kṣatriyas who occupied a territory near the mouth of the Sindhu river. This and other references to Siṁhala and his son and grandson, will be discussed together in a separate chapter.

3. The Successors of Alexander the Great

"When King Alakṣandara died, his generals divided his empire (among themselves) and each one of them endeavoured to get hold of the others' shares." Thus says Buddhapriya on the authority of the *Rvp.* Commenting on the different treatment of the events which followed Alexander's death in the sources that he utilized, Buddhapriya has stated that the *Svp.* has referred only to Calukya Nikatora (Seleucus Nicator) among the successors of Alexander, for it was only he who had any influence on the course of events in the Suvarṇnapura kingdom, of which the *Svp.* is the chronicle. The *Pp.* has related the history of Calukya Nikatora as well as King Philippa. It is only the *Rvp.* that has taken into account all the dynasties founded by the generals of Alexander. The *Yrv.* gives no other details about these dynasties than the succession of kings and how they ended. Of Seleucus Nicator, Buddhapriya states: "Calukya Nikatora, one of the generals of King Alakṣandara, received as his share of the conquests, the Suriya kingdom (Syria), the kingdom of Bāveru (Babylon), the Pāraśika kingdom (Persia), the Bāhlīka kingdom (Bactria), the Suvarṇakudya kingdom (Paropanisadha), the Gandhāra kingdom, the Takṣaśilā kingdom, the Pañcanada kingdom

and the Sindhu kingdom. He waged war with Candragupta, was defeated and ceded to him (Candragupta) the Gandhāra kingdom, the Pañcanada kingdom, the Takṣaśilā kingdom, the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom and the Sindhu kingdom. He also gave Candragupta his daughter Suvarṇṇākṣī (Berenice) and, returning with the force of elephants given in return by Candragupta, fought a battle with King Philippa at a place named Ipsus, made the Suriya kingdom an empire, and died after a reign of thirty-seven years.[11] Tulumāya (Ptolemey) received the Miśara kingdom and died after reigning there. King Philippa received the Magadha kingdom, reigned there and died."

The succession of the Seleucids is given in the *Rvp.* as follows: "The son of Calukya Nikatora was Anantayogya (Antiochus); his son was Anantayogya; his son was Anantayogya; his son was Calukya; his son was Anantayogya; his son was Anantayogya; his son was Calukya, his son was Calukya; in his reign, the Pārthava (Parthian) king named Mitradatta conquered the Suriya kingdom and made the Suriya kingdom subject to the Pārthava kingdom.[11]"

"King Anantayogya, grandson of Calukya Nikatora," Buddhapriya continues, "remained a friend of King Dharmmāśoka and gave permission to preach the Doctrine (of the Buddha) in his empire. The Elder Mahā-Mahendra, pupil of the Elder Maudgalīputra Tiṣya, visited the Suriya kingdom, and preached the Dharma there. After returning from the Suriya kingdom he came to the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi.[11]"

At this point, Buddhapriya makes a digression and states that the name of King Anantayogya occurs in the inscriptions of King Dharmmāśoka. This statement is made on the authority of the Brahman Śivaśarmma-paṇḍita who came to Suvarṇṇapura as the envoy of the Pāla king, and lived there for some time. Śivaśarmma-paṇḍita had been commissioned to write a history of the Pāla dynasty, and while engaged in studying ancient documents in that connection, gained the knowledge of deciphering the inscriptions of Dharmmāśoka. After returning from Suvarṇṇapura, Śivaśarmma-paṇḍita remained, until his death, an honoured member of the court of Rāmapala[12].

The succession of the Ptolemaic (Turumāya) rulers of Egypt is given as follows in the *Rvp.* "Turumāya Sāvitra (Soter); his son Turumāya Priyadālbhya (Philadelphus); his son Turumāya Yuvarājita (Euregetes); his son Turumāya

11. The statement 'thus it has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*' occurs in the original here, and has been omitted in the translation.'

12. Rāmapāla referred to here lived at a time when the Pālas had yielded the imperial position to the Senas. But the Senas are said to have allowed the representative of the fallen dynasty to maintain some status, including that of sending *dūtas* to foreign potentates for the sake of courtesy. For the claims made for Garuḍācarya as the decipherer of the inscriptions of Asoka, see below, pp. 71f.

Priyapitara (Philapater); his son Turumāya Abhisvana (Epiphanes); his son Turumāya Priyamātara (Philomater); his son Turumāya Hariscandra (Alexander); his son Turumāya Dhānyeśa (Dionysius); his daughter Kalyapātrā (Cleopatra) remained as the wife of the Roman General Mṛgeśa Anantāvanīśa (Marcus Antonius), and was taken captive to Rome by the Roman general Jvālya Keśari.[13] The kingdom of Miśara was also included in the Roman empire".[14] Buddhapriya has noted that the list of Ptolemaic kings given in the *Rvp.* is not complete. The names of all the Ptolemys must have been given in the *Rvp.*; but some have been dropped out in later times by copyists.

"In the reign of King Dharmmāśoka," continues Buddhapriya, "Turumāya Evuragata, son of Turumāya Philadalpha, gave permission to preach the Doctrine of the Buddha within his kingdom and Mahāmahendra-sthavira, pupil of Maudgalīputra-sthavira went there, preached the Dharmma and after having returned, went to the Island of Tāmaraparṇṇi."

After giving the succession of the Ptolemaic rulers as found in the *Rvp.*, Buddhapriya has also enumerated them as he had gathered from the Greek (Yavana) books: "Tulumāya Sotara, his son Tulumāya Philadalpha, his son Tulumāya Evaragata; his son Tulumāya Philapatra; his son Tulumāya Epiphana; his son Tulumāya Philamātra; his brother Tulumāya Evuragata; his son Tulumāya Sotara; his brother Tulumāya Alakṣandara; his son Tulumāya Alakṣandara; his son Tulumāya Nava Diyanesa; his daughter Kalyapātrā, having remained as wife of the Roman general Markus Antonius, was taken to the Romarājya as a captive by the Roman general named Yulyus Kaesara.[13] And the Misara kingdom was incorporated in the Roman Empire."

About the rulers of Macedonia after Alexander, the *Rvp.* has the following to say: "The founder of the kingdom of Magadha which flourished in the Paramayavanas after King Alakṣandara, was the general named Philippa; his son was Sotara Maga; his son was Philippa; his son was Sotara Maga; his son was Philippa; in his reign the Roman general named Brahmaṇya conquered the Magadha kingdom[15] and made it subject to the Roman state." On this Buddhapriya has remarked: "It appears that the author of the *Rvp.*, Mahā Buddharakṣita-sthavira, did not

13. It is obvious that some names have dropped out from the text here, probably in the process of copying by scribes. Ānandasthavira, who flourished in the fifteenth century, was of opinion that the text should be restored here as '*Kalyapātrā Jvālya-Keśari-nāma-Roma-senāpateś ca Mṛgeśa-Anantāvanīśa-nāma-Roma-senāpateś ca bhāryyā bhūtvā sthitvā Avaktavya-Keśari-nāma-Roma-senāpatinā gṛhītvā* etc. The translation should then be "Kalyapātrā (Cleopatra) remained as the wife of the Roman general Jvālya-Keśarī (Julius Caesar) and the Roman general Mṛgeśa-Anantāvanīśa, (Marcus Antonius), was taken prisoner to Rome by the Roman general Avaktavya-Keśari (Octavius Caesar)," etc. In the account of the Emperor Augustus given in the *Paramparāpustaka*, Octavius Caesar, who later became Emperor Augustus, is called Avaktavya-Keśarī.

have accurate knowledge of the history of the Magadha kingdom (Macedonia). Sotara Maga is not a proper name, but a title, its meaning being 'Great Saviour'. There was only one king named Philippa in the later Magadha kingdom; he was the last. The succession of kings of the later Magadha kingdom as given in the Yavana books is given here. The founder of the later Magadha kingdom was Antikina (Antigonus), son of Philippa; his son was Dhīmitra (Demetrius); his son was Antikina Gonata (Antigonus Gonatas); his son was Dhīmitra; his son was Philippa; in his reign the Roman general named Plāmininus conquered the Magadha kingdom and made it subject to the State of Rome. Thus it has been given in the Yavana books. The form 'Antikina' has been adopted as it is given in the inscriptions of King Dharmmāśoka. 'Antigona' is the form occurring in the Yavana language. Its meaning is not known. Antigona Gonata must be the Magadha king who, having been a friend of King Dharmmāśoka, gave permission to preach the Doctrine of the Buddha in his kingdom. This is the opinion of Garuḍācārya. It is said in the *Rvp.* that it was Sotara Maga. It has been said by Rūma-vāṇija that 'Sotara Maga' was a title of Antigona Gonata, and that therefore, what is said in the *Rvp.* may be accepted."

4. THE KINGDOM OF CYRENE AND ANTIALCIDAS

The account of the Kurīṇa kingdom (Cyrene) taken from the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* and included in the *Yavana-rājya-vṛttānta* by Buddhapriya, is given below. It seems to contain historical information not found in classical sources.

"The kingdom of Kurīṇa (Cyrene) was founded by the prince Maga, son of Turumāya Sāvitra (Ptolemey Soter), the founder of the (Greek) kingdom of Miśara (Egypt). When King Maga died after reigning for fifty years, his daughter Suvarṇṇākṣī (Berenice) became the heiress of the Kurīṇa kingdom. King Antikina (Antigonus) of the kingdom of Magadha (Macedonia), having heard this, instructed his brother Dhīmitra (Demetrius) to go to the Kurīṇa kingdom, to win the heart of Suvarṇṇākṣī (Berenice) and wed her, and thus obtain the Kurīṇa kingdom and to reign there. Dhīmitra, accordingly, arrived in the Kurīṇa kingdom and was staying there. One day Suvarṇṇākṣī saw Dhīmitra with her mother in secret, and killed him. After that Suvarṇṇākṣī was betrothed to Prince Yuvarājita (Euregetes), son of Turumāya Priyadālbhya (Ptolemey Philadelphus).

"Yuvārajita arrived in the Kurīṇa kingdom, wedded Suvarṇṇākṣī, remained there for a few days, returned to the Miśara kingdom and went to the Suriya kingdom (Syria) to wage war. Suvarṇṇākṣī prayed to the goddess Abhrasthitā (Aphrodite) to protect her husband, offered to the goddess a lock of her own hair, and kept the lock of hair in the temple of the goddess. Even after the expiry of two years, Yuvarājita did not return from the Suriya kingdom. Having concluded that Yuvarājita was dead, Suvarṇṇākṣī became the wife of Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas) who had come from the kingdom of Magadha (Macedonia), and was staying (in Cyrene) and gave him the kingdom of Kurīṇa. Having heard that Yuvarājita had obtained victory in the war (in Syria), had returned to the Miśara kingdom and was staying there, Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas) kept the lock of hair of Suvarṇṇākṣī which was deposited in the temple of Abhrasthitā hidden, kept Suvarṇṇākṣī confined in the royal palace, and himself administered the Kurīṇa kingdom. Yuvarājita heard of this, and sent his general to the Kurīṇa kingdom (with instructions) to have Sūryyadvāra slain, and to conduct Suvarṇṇākṣī to the Miśara kingdom. Sūryyadvāra waged war with that general, was defeated and returned to the Magadha kingdom, where he remained.

"Some time later, he (Sūryyadvāra, i.e. Antialcidas) came to the Suriya kingdom and remained there as a general of King Anantayogya (Antiochus III). He waged war with the Pārthavas and being defeated, retreated to the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom and remained there. King Dharmmāśoka gave him the office of Satrapa of the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom. Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas), having been there, administering the government as the Satrapa in the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, declared himself independent after the death of King Dharmmāśoka and having administered the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya for seven years, was defeated by Yuvasthadhīmat and died. Thus it has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*.

"It has been said by the Rūma merchant that what has been given in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* is in accord with the account given in the poem named *Lost Lock* (*Vinaṣṭa-keśapāśa*) of the poet Kalyamagha (Callimachus). Garuḍācārya obtained a copy of the poem entitled *Lost Lock* of the poet Kalyamagha, and gave it to be read by the Rūma merchant. The Rūma merchant read that poem, and having remarked that its language was very charming, gave the subject matter of that poem in his book. The name given as Sūryyadvāra in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* is given by the poet Kalyamagha in the form of Antialcidas in the Yavana language. The author of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, Buddharakṣita-sthavira, had read as Antalikida the name occurring in the Yavana language, and has taken *antaliki* as equivalent to *antarīkṣin* in Sanskrit, synonymous with *Sūryya*, and *da* as Sanskrit *dvāḥ*, meaning *dvāra* 'door'; thus the name Sūryyadvāra appears to have been coined. Thus has it been said (by the Rūma merchant). A traditional account to the above effect is prevailing among the learned men of Suvarṇṇapura.

"Suryyadvāra, the son of Turumaya Yavarājita, received the Kurīṇa kingdom, made the Kurīṇa kingdom into an empire, reigned for thirty-four years and died. After his death, the Kurīṇa kingdom was included in the Miśara kingdom".

Buddhapriya's attempt to identify this Sūryyadvāra of Kurīṇa with the Yavana king Antialcidas mentioned in the Besnagar pillars will be noticed in Chapter IX.

Chapter Three

THE PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE AND ARTS OF THE GREEKS

Buddhapriya was aware that the Yavanas followed a way of life different from that of his countrymen, and that the leaders of the intellectual and spiritual life among the majority of his contemporaries have referred to the Yavanas as Mlecchas (barbarians). He, therefore, considered it necessary to explain to his readers that the Yavanas possessed a philosophy and literature which deserved respect, that they had surpassed the way of life of his people in their achievements in the arts and in the material sciences, and that their language itself was akin to the Saṁskṛta language held in high veneration as the speech of the Devas. The statement that King Philippa entrusted the education of his son Alakṣandara to Aristātalācarya was taken by Buddhapriya as an appropriate opening for an account of the Greek culture.

"Ācārya Aristātala", says Buddhapriya, "was the pupil of Ācārya Plātava (Plato); Ācārya Plātava was the pupil of Ācārya Sukṛteśa (Socrates). Ācārya Sukṛteśa was the establisher of the way of life (Dharma) of the Yavanas. Thus it has been stated in the *Rvp*. It is also stated in the *Rvp*. that the doctrine of Ācārya Plātava is similar to the doctrine of Ācārya Sukṛteśa, but the doctrine of Ācārya Aristātala differs much from the doctrine of Ācārya Sukṛteśa. It is also stated in the *Rvp*. that the doctrine of Ācārya Sukṛteśa has much resemblance to the Buddhist doctrine, but that the belief in a soul has not been disavowed in it. It is stated in the *Rvp*. that the doctrine of Ācārya Plātava is Cittamātra-vāda (Idealism), and in many ways resembles the views of the Mahāsāṅghikas; the *Pp*. says that it resembles the Vijñānavāda. The view of Rājasundara-paṇḍita is that it resembles the Vedānta doctrine. That it resembles the doctrine of Saṅkarācārya is the view of Śivaśarmma-paṇḍita. It is stated in the *Pp*. that the doctrine of Ācārya Aristātala resembles Vaiśeṣika philosophy; the *Rvp*. states that it resembles the philosophy of the Sarvāstivāda. It is stated in the *Pp*. (that the doctrine of Aristātala) resembles the system of the Sthaviravāda. In the *Spv*. nothing has been said about the doctrines of these teachers. The *Svp*. is a book that has been composed to narrate the histories of kings. The *Rvp* and the *Pp*. are books meant also to discuss subjects other than the histories of kings. Therefore there is no contradiction between the *Spv*. on the one hand, and the *Rvp*. and the *Pp*. on the other.

"It is the opinion of Rājasundara-paṇḍita that the doctrine of Ācārya Sukṛteśa resembles that of the Brāhmaṇas, that Ācārya Sukṛteśa had come to Jambudvīpa (India), remained there and learned the doctrines of the Brāhmaṇas and, having

returned to his own country, promulgated his doctrines. This opinion of Rajāsundara-paṇḍita has not been accepted by Alakṣandara, the Byzantine merchant. The latter's view is that Ācārya Sukṛteśa had been to the Pāraśika country and while there, had discussions with Maga Brāhmaṇas and scholars who had come there from the Miśara kingdom. Having learnt their doctrines, he returned to his own country and formulated his own doctrine. It is not possible to accept the opinion of Rājasundara-paṇḍita. There is no evidence whatever that there was intercourse between Jambudvīpa (India) and Yavana kingdoms before the reign of Candragupta. Therefore, it is reasonable to accept the view of the Rūma-vāṇija. It is stated in the continuation of the *Svp*. that there was intercourse between Jambudvīpa and the Yavana kingdoms even before the reign of Candragupta. It is stated there that Sūryyanārāyaṇa, the father of Candragupta,[1] went to the Yavana kingdom, tarried there, and returning with an army given him by the Yavana king, fought and captured the Pāṭaliputra kingdom, reigned there and died. This story cannot be accepted as true, because it does not occur in any work earlier in date than the continuation of the *Spv*. On the other hand, there is no evidence to prove that there was no intercourse between Jambudvīpa and the Yavana kingdoms before Candragupta. Therefore, and as there is resemblance between the doctrines of the Brāhmaṇas and the doctrines of Ācārya Sukṛteśa, it is possible that he had learnt of the doctrines of the Brāhmaṇas even though he did not actually come to Jambudvīpa, and developed his doctrines out of them.

"It has been said by Alakṣandara the Rūma-vāṇija, that Ācārya Sukṛteśa established his doctrine by conducting disputations with the sophists (pāṣāṇḍas) of Hastināpura (Athens). The young men of Hastināpura took the side of Ācārya Sukṛteśa, and did not wish to go to other teachers. The older people of Hastināpura took the side of the other teachers, went to the President of the Assembly (Saṅgha) of Hastināpura and made a complaint to him that the morals of the young men of Hastināpura have been corrupted by Ācārya Sukṛteśa. The President of the Assembly convened a meeting of the Assembly, summoned the accusers and the accused, investigated into the complaint, adjudged that Ācārya Sukṛteśa had committed an offence, passed the sentence of death on him and had him executed. Thus it has been stated in the *Pp*. Alakṣandara, the Rūma-vāṇija, states that it was possible for Ācārya Sukṛteśa to have avoided the carrying out of the death sentence by leaving the city, but that Ācārya Sukṛteśa gave up attachment to life and faced death which was brought about by making him drink poison. After the death of Ācārya Sukṛteśa, his statues were installed in all Yavana cities, and his doctrine was accepted as the doctrine (*dharma*) of the Yavanas.

1. The name given here to the father of Candragupta must be due to an error. It does not tally with the name of Candragupta's father given in the account of that king himself.

THE CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS

'It has been stated in the *Pp.* that the Republic (Saṅgha) of Hastināpura resembled the Republic of the Licchavis. On the other hand, the *Rvp.* has stated that though there were some points of resemblance between the Republic of Hastināpura and that of the Licchavis, the points of difference were many. It has been stated in the *Rvp.* that the laws of the Republic of Hastināpura were promulgated by a wise man (Paṇḍita) named Solon, and that they have been recorded in a stone inscription. All the heads of the households are members of the Assembly of Hastināpura[2]. The President of the Assembly is installed by the consent of all the heads of free families (who are members of) the Assembly. It is possible for any one (among the heads of free families) to obtain offices in the republic, but only a person who has received a majority of ballots by casting ballots in secret is placed in the position of President of the Assembly (or Republic). To other offices also, only those persons who have received a majority of ballots are appointed. The casting of ballots is done in the shrine of a god.

"In peace time, authority should be given to the President of the Republic by the approval of all the members (of the Assembly) to administer the business of the city. When there is war, the President of the Republic has authority to conduct according to his discretion, business necessary for the protection of the city, recruitment of armies, the organization of the armies, provision of food to the armies as well as to the city, the mobilization of the armies for war and other matters, as well as measures necessary to be undertaken in emergencies like epidemics, famine, etc. But, when the war or emergency is over, the business conducted by the President according to his discretion has to be notified to the Assembly. If any business conducted by the President according to his discretion had been really unnecessary, the Assembly has the power to charge the President on account of the affairs conducted at his discretion. The deployment of the armies to battle may be done by the President himself, or by a Military Commander. The President of the Republic is installed (in office) to superintend the affairs of the city for a period limited to four years. When the period of four years is over, the President of the Republic has to be elected again. It is possible for a President of the Republic who has vacated office after having been in the Office of the President of the Republic to receive again the Office of President of the Republic. But there is no sanction for one (and the same) person to receive the Office of the President of the Republic for a period exceeding four terms.

2. The word *Saṅgha* is used here in the sense of the Assembly of the free householders of Athens, as well as the republican State which they constituted.

"The President of the Licchavi Republic is installed in office for a period limited (only) by the cessation of his life, according to a rotation which is hereditary. The President of the Licchavi Republic has power equal to that of a king. Though there are seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven members in the Assembly[2], the President of the Assembly (or Republic) should be one among seven (specified) members. In the Licchavi Republic the deployment of the armies in battle should be done by the Commander-in-Chief (*senāpati*). The Commander-in-Chief is appointed by the President of the Republic. Appointments to offices can be made by the President of the Republic at his discretion, but (such appointments) have to be notified to the Assembly. An officer appointed to a post by the President of the Republic cannot be removed from his office by the Assembly. At the end of the life of a President of the Republic, the one who stands next to him in the order of rotation gets the Office of the President of the Republic. The Licchavi Republic lasted from the life of the Buddha up to the time of Samudragupta. Samudragupta is known as the daughter's son of the Licchavi.[3] The Republic of Hastināpura lasted from the fifty-fifth year after the Parinirvāna of the Buddha up to the seventh year of King Philippa.[4]

"The Book which has regulated moral conduct in the Yavana kingdoms has been composed by Ācārya Aristātala.[5] Though this is so, there are many other books which establish moral conduct (among the Yavanas). Of the Yavana books mentioned by name in the *Rvp.*, one is the Compendium of History by Haradatta Paṇḍita (Herodotus), which was written by him after his return to his own country from travels in various lands. It has been stated in the *Rvp.* that Haradatta Pandita had visited the port of Suppāraka also, remained there for a time, and returned to his own country. But it has been stated by Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, who came to Suvarṇṇapura and returned (to his own country), that there is no evidence whatever to prove that Haradatta Paṇḍita had come to and stayed in any place in Jambudvīpa, and returned (to his own land). The Compendium of History by Haradatta Paṇḍita is the foremost among history books. Historical accounts relating to Jambudvīpa narrated in the Compendium of History by Haradatta Paṇḍita are very few. But the historical accounts of the Pārasika kingdom, a land which is a neighbour of Jambudvīpa, have been related (there) in an excellent manner, and in detail. The account of the establishment

3. *Licchavi-dauhitra*: See J. F. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III), pp. 8 and 16. For details about the Licchavi Saṅgha, see HCIP, Vol. II, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 331ff.

4. Presumably the Buddhist Era of Suvarṇṇapura was meant, as this statement has been prepared for readers there. See below. p. 100. The fifty-fifth year after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha would thus be 422 B.C. The Greek sources, so far as I know, do not indicate any important constitutional development in Athens on this date.

5. This is no doubt a reference to the *Ethics* of Aristotle.

of the Pāraśika Empire has not been narrated in detail by any (historian) except Haradatta Paṇḍita. The book of Haradatta Paṇḍita is written to narrate historical events, but there are (to be found in it) stories which are also connected with morality. So it has been stated in the *Pp*. and the *Rvp*. It has been stated in the *Rvp*. that the book of Haradatta Paṇḍita has been translated into the Saṁskṛta language. But it has not been stated that the translation of the book of Haradatta Paṇḍita into the Saṁskṛta language has been (actually) seen by the author of the *Rvp*, or by anyone else. Even the name of the book of Haradatta Paṇḍita is not found in the *Spv*., or in the *Mahāvaṁśa* (*Mv*.). Had the book of Haradatta Paṇḍita been translated into the Saṁskṛta language, it is reasonable (to assume) that its name (even) would be mentioned in the *Spv*. or on the *Mv*. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the book of Haradatta Paṇḍita had not been translated into the Saṁskṛta language. Haradatta Paṇḍita had possessed the previous preparation necessary (*upanissaya-sampatti*) to become a Buddhist, had he been born in Jambudvīpa.

"Among the books on history written in times after Haradatta Paṇḍita, the book of the Paṇḍita named Tuṣyaddyuti (Thucydides) is the foremost. In the book of Tuṣyaddyuti Paṇḍita, the history of the war between Spārtapura and Hastināpura in Paramayavanas has been narrated in great detail. The general of Spārtapura was Rājadhāman (Archidamus) by name; the general of Hastināpura was Parikalya (Pericles) by name. The general of Spārtapura having captured the city of Dālbhya (Delphi), which is the place in Paramayavanas where prophesies are made (when) questions (are asked),[7] came to capture Hastināpura also, but was defeated by Parikalya, returned to his own kingdom, and died there in course of time. The account of that war has been narrated in great detail, and with great literary ability (*prabandha-māhātmyena*) by Tuṣyaddyuti Paṇḍita.

"The *Book of Lives* by Plutarāja Paṇḍita (Plutarch) is one among the books on morality in the Yavana kingdoms. Some of the stories in the *Book of Lives* of Plutarāja Paṇḍita resemble Jātaka stories. The lives of the heroes of the Yavana kingdoms and those of the Rōma kingdom have been narrated in detail by Plutarāja Paṇḍita. It has been stated in the *Pp*. that the *Book of Lives* of Plutarāja Paṇḍita has been translated into Saṁskṛta by Rājasundara Paṇḍita. It has been stated by Sundaramūrti-nāyaka Paṇḍita that the Saṁskṛta translation of the *Book of Lives* of Plutarāja Paṇḍita made by Rājasundara Paṇḍita is current in the Pāṇḍya country. It has also been stated by Sundaramūrti Paṇḍita that this Saṁskṛta translation of Rājasundara Paṇḍita has been (in its turn) translated into the Draviḍa language (Tamil). It has been stated by Sumaṅgalācārya that this Saṁskṛta translation by Rājasundara Paṇḍita has been translated into the Siṁhala language by Vidyācakravartti Paṇḍita in the reign of King Vijayabāhu. Two stories of Lives by Plutarāja Paṇḍita taken from the Saṁskṛta translation of Rājasundara Paṇḍita have been given in the *Pp*. In the continuation of the *Svp*. also, these two stories from Plutarāja have been narrated. It is the opinion of Sumaṅgalācārya that there is a strong connection between the *Spv*. and the *Pp*. That the stories from Pluturāja in the *Spv*. are taken from the *Pp*. and have been interpolated is the opinion of Sumaṅgalācārya.

6. The statement 'thus it has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*' occurs in the original here, and has been omitted in the translation.

7. *Praśna-vyākaraṇa* refers no doubt to the oracular utterances of the priests of Delphi.

"Among the poems in vogue in the Yavana kingdoms, that which has to be reckoned in the first place is the epic named Īlyat (*Iliad*) composed by the great poet Gomāra (Homer). The great poet Gomāra came from the Paramayavanas to the Pāraśika kingdom, and while being there, composed the epic named Īlyat. Having returned to the Paramayavanas and while being there, he composed a second epic named Ayodhyeśīya (*Odyssey*). After having been there, he went to the Miśara kingdom and while being there composed a third epic, and died there.[7] The story which is the subject of the epic named Īlyat (*Iliad*) has been stated in brief in the *Rvp*. as follows: 'In olden days, all the kings in the Paramayavanas had given an undertaking to protect Kalyāṇā (Helen), wife of King Mānyalava (Menelaus) of the city of Spārta. The prince named Pārśa (Paris) of the kingdom of Tripura (Troy), came to the city of Spārta in the course of wandering in various lands. While there, he saw Kalyāṇā and, being enamoured of her, abducted her, came to his own kingdom and was remaining there. Mānyalava sent messages to all kings in Paramayavanas (requesting them) to proceed to the Tripura kingdom and rescue Kalyāṇā, in accordance with the undertaking given by them. All the kings of the Paramayavanas accepted that message and arrived in the kingdom of Tripura, each accompanied by his own army. King Agramānava (Agamemnon) of the city of Ayodhyā (Ithaca), too, came to the kingdom of Tripura, with his own army, and became the Commander-in-Chief of all the kings of Paramayavanas. Having been unable to defeat Pārśa after waging war for twelve years, he entered the city of Tripura by a deceitful strategem, slew Pārśa together with his allies and his kinsmen, rescued Kalyāṇā and gave her to King Mānyalava. The kings returned to their own kingdoms and in fulness of time died.' This story has been narrated in detail by the great poet Gomāra with numerous episodes and descriptions of various sorts in very charming and sonorous words (*sulalitapraudha-padaiḥ*).

"The second epic of the great poet Gomāra is named Ayodhyeśīya. In that epic, the stories about the wanderings, in various lands, of Ayodhyeśa (Odysseus), brother of Agramānava, have been described in detail.[6] The third epic of the great poet Gomāra is not available at present. His language is old Yavana, which differs from the language of Hastināpura (Attic) and Dvāraka-Yavana (Doric).

There are many other poems in the Yavana lands; there is no room here to give even their names.[6]

"There are also many dramas in the Yavana lands; the Yavana dramas are better than Saṁskṛta dramas. Even the writers of dramas in Saṁskṛta have learnt many lessons (*gurūpdeśāni*) from Yavana dramas.[6] The foremost among the writers of Yavana dramas is Yuvarūpadha (Euripides) by name.[6] The subjects of the dramas of Yuvarupadha have been taken from history as well as from the lives of the citizens of the present.[6] In certain places in the dramas of Yuvarūpadha, Buddhist morality has been praised.[6] The dramas of Yuvarūpadha have been staged at various places in the Pañcanada kingdom (Punjab).[6] In certain places in the dramas of Yuvarūpadha, incidents that have taken place in Suvarṇnapura[8] have also been mentioned.[6]

"In the Yavana lands, many sciences have reached a high degree of perfection.[6] Treatises on the Science of Arithmetic . . . . . .[9] the Science of Astronomy, the Science of Medicine, the Science of Algebra, the Science of Astronomical calculations (Sūryya-siddhānta), the Science of Geometry, the Science of Trigonometry (*trikoṇa-māna*), the sciences of measuring by squares, pentagons, hexagons and septagons, have been composed by a teacher named Yuvakratu (Euclid). A treatise on debate (logic) including refutation (*khaṇḍana*) and proof (*sādhana*)' a treatise on the science of politics (*rāja-dharma*), a treatise on the science of aesthetics (*saundarya-śāstra*), a treatise on the science of grammar, a treatise dealing with the composition of verses, a book investigating the constitutions of states, a treatise on metaphysics (*adhyātma-vidyā*), a book investigating the principles of poetics, a textbook on ethics and a treatise on geography have been composed by the Ācārya Aristātala.[6] These treatises and other books of Ācārya Aristātala are used in the education of youths in the Yavana and other countries.

"In the Yavana lands, there are many palaces, statues and paintings. Yavana artists who lived in the Gandhāra kingdom, having come there from the kingdoms in Paramayavanas, and returned to their own lands, have fashioned many images of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and deities. There had been no images of the Blessed Buddha for a period of five hundred years from the Parinirvāṇa of the Blessed Buddha. Yavana artists who came to the Gandhāra country instructed the artists of Jambudvīpa with regard to the canon (*sampradāya*) for the fashioning of the image of the Blessed Buddha, and returned to their own country. After the Yavana artists who came to the Gandhāra country had returned to their own

8. It is not impossible that some passages containing complimentary reference to Buddhist morals were interpolated in the text of a drama of Euripides that was current in the Pañcanada country by the Buddhists there, for purposes of propaganda. The references to Suvarṇnapura in the dramas of Euripides must be treated as a fiction of Buddhapriyācārya.

9. A part of the Sanskrit text has not been deciphered here.

land, images of the Blessed Buddha have been fashioned in diverse styles in different regions of Jambudvīpa.[6]

"It has been stated in the message sent from Kustantinapura by the Rūma merchant Alakṣandara, who had come to Suvarṇnapura and remained there (for some time) and returned to his own country, that the language of the Yavana country resembles the Saṁskṛta language. It has also been revealed by Alakṣandara the Rūma merchant, that the Saṁskṛta language, the Pārāśika language, the Grīka language, the Latīna language, and the languages of the countries to the west of the Yavana kingdom, should be included in one group of languages. Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, came to Suvarṇnapura in the fifty-fifth year of Mahārāja Samara-Vijayottuṅga, remained there for some time, returned to his own country, came back again to Suvarṇnapura, and while being there, learned the Saṁskṛta language and the Malaya language, translated the redaction of the *Suvarṇnapuravaṁśa* to the Greek language, remained in Suvarṇnapura for five years, and returned to his own country in the fifth year of Mahāraja Mānābharaṇa. While in his own country, he despatched a message (to Suvarṇnapura) and died in due time. Thus it is heard. The book composed by Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, has been written in the Greek language, but an abstract of it has been given in the Saṁskṛta language, as well as in the Malaya language.

"The opinion of Alakṣandara the Rūma merchant is that the Saṁskṛta language, the Pārāśika language, the Greek language, the Latin language and the languages of the European countries should be included in one group of languages, and that there are in these languages, words that are similar, grammatical forms that are similar, roots and suffixes that are similar, methods of constructing sentences that are similar, treatises on sciences that are similar, methods of versification that are similar, and systems of philosophy that are similar."

Further elaboration of this theory about the interrelationship between languages, said to have been done by the Rūma-vāṇija himself, or by other scholars of his time and later, is not relevant to the present context. Whether there was actually a merchant named Alexander from Byzantine who visited Suvarṇnapura (Śrīvijaya), and while there, anticipated Sir William Jones in the discovery of the Indo-European family of languages, or whether "Rūma-vāṇija" was *a nom-de-plume* of Buddhapriya, the resemblance between the Sanskrit and Greek languages had been observed much earlier by Mahā-Buddharakṣita, the author of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*. But it is Buddhapriya who has collected together the linguistic data contained in the *Rvp.*, whose author has been given due credit as a pioneer of linguistic investigations. Mahā-Buddharakṣita has a sevenfold classification of the languages of the world, as they were known to him. Of these, one is the Yavana-gaṇa, in which are included not only Greek, but also Latin and Teutonic. He has noticed that Persian resembles Sanskrit, that Latin has much

in common with Persian, and that Greek is akin to Sanskrit; but he has not actually included these in one family of languages, for side by side with the Yavana-gaṇa, he also gives the Pārasika-gaṇa and the Ārya-gaṇa (Sanskritic) of languages. Maha-Buddharakṣita has not only referred to the Greek language as prevailing in Paramayavanas, but has enumerated various regions in which that language was spoken by Yavana settlers, probably with dialectical differences. Among these regions are: Pañcanada (Punjab), Gandhāra, Suvarṇṇakuḍya (Southern Afghanistan), Muruṇḍa country, Sindhu-Sauvīra (Sindh), Suriya (Syria), Bāveru (Babylon), Miśara (Egypt), Bāhlīka (Bactria), Vṛkavana Desert (Makran), Sugdhīya, Pahari, Calukya, Pārasika and Ethiopia. He also refers, without naming them, to the languages of certain peoples who had flourished in the Paramayavanas but were extinct in his time. We have already noticed that he refers to the Doric and Attic varieties of the Greek language.

After the discovery that Persian, Greek and Latin belonged to the same family of languages as Sanskrit, the question of their interrelation also engaged the attention of the scholars of those days in Ceylon, South India and Śrīvijaya. The question was formulated as to whether Greek, etc. were sisters or daughters of Sanskrit. This question was formally debated at a conference of learned men in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, in 1442, and the decision was that these languages were related as sisters, but Sanskrit was the eldest.

But the manner in which Greek proper names have been Sanskritized by Mahā-Buddharakṣita, or the scholar who translated his *Rājavaṁsapustaka* into Sanskrit, indicates that he took the Greek language to be a Prakritic dialect of Sanskrit. Greek *Athena* (Athens) has been equated with Sanskrit *Hastinā*, obviously through the intermediate form of **Hathina* > **Hathena*. The Greek name *Helena* is derived from Sanskrit *Kalyāṇā*, through > **Kalana* and **Halena*, and Skt. *Gomāra* has been given as the equivalent of Gk. *Homer*, obviously through the intermediate form of **Homāra*. It is interesting to compare this name with Skt. *Go-ghna* 'Cow-killer', an epithet of Brahmanical sages.[10] The phonological processes presumed in these equations are also met with in old Indian forms assuming their parallels in Middle Indian and Modern Indian.

Buddhapriya has discussed this matter in some detail and has observed that Mahā Buddharakṣita has followed three methods in finding Sanskrit equivalents for Greek proper names. Sometimes, the Sanskrit equivalent agrees with the Greek in meaning as well as in form, i.e. etymologically, e.g. Skt. *Rājadhāman* for Gk. *Archidamus*. An example of the Sanskrit equivalent being identical in meaning with the Greek is *Suvarṇṇākṣī* (golden-eyed) for *Berenice*. *Gomāra* has been

10. Ṛṣis were called *goghnas*, because the fatted calf had to be killed to entertain them when they came as guests.

given as an example for the Sanskrit equivalent agreeing with the Greek in sound only.

Persian names are given in the forms in which they are found in the inscriptions and texts in Old Persian, and not in the forms they are found in Greek accounts. For instance, the Persian King of Kings who was defeated by Alexander, is referred to as Dhārayatuvasu and not Darius.[11] The name of the Persian princess espoused by Alexander, which is Roxana in Greek, is given as Rocanā by Mahā Buddharakṣita. One of the royal seats of the Persians is referred to as Pārśa-kaṭaka, which means 'the Camp of the Pārśas', i.e. Persians. The reference no doubt is to the city called Pasaragadae in Greek sources. This name, we are told by competent authorities, means "the Camp of the Persians." "Candravarṇṇā", the name of a princess of Persian origin (pp. 15 and 40), has been explained as the Persian name occurring as *Apama* in Greek texts, equated with Sanskrit *ābhā* "colour" and *mās* "moon".

Whatever modern philologists may say of these equations, their occurrence in the narrative creates an atmosphere of familiarity, and the reader forms the impression that the persons and places dealt with are not so foreign or remote. The forms adopted are also in harmony with the phonology and morphology of the Sanskrit language. Buddharakṣita as well as Buddhapriya have dealt with their subject with sympathy and understanding, and give credit to the Greeks where credit is due, e.g. in stating that the drama of the Greeks is superior to the Sanskrit, and that they have achieved greatness in the sciences. The two authors may therefore be considered as pioneers in the creation of mutual understanding between the East and the West.

11. R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (Pelican Books), p. 134.

CHAPTER FOUR

CANDRAGUPTA

The schemes which Alexander entertained to incorporate the Indian territories that he had conquered, into the great world empire that he dreamed of, had come to naught within five years of his leaving India. The Macedonian garrisons that he had left behind and the Indian princes who had sworn allegiance to him were swept away by Indian forces that had risen against the invaders.[1] According to Greek sources, the leader of this liberation movement was Sandrocottus, in which name one can easily recognize the Greek corruption of the Sanskrit Candragupta. Seleucus Nicator, who came from Western Asia with a powerful army to restore Greek power in the Indian territories conquered by Alexander, went away after ceding to Candragupta, not only the conquests within India, but territories of vast extent and resources to the west of the Indus—territories which for more than two centuries were provinces of the Persian empire and to which the kingdom of Magadha, or any other Indian kingdom of Alexander's day, had no claim. Candragupta is said to have given Seleucus Nicator, five hundred war-elephants, and the proud Macedonian entered into a matrimonial alliance with a prince who, according to Greek usage, was a barbarian. It is clear that the terms of this peace settlement were altogether in Candragupta's favour. Seleucus Nicator, whose purpose in undertaking the expedition was evidently to consolidate and if possible to extend the conquests of Alexander, must have suffered a severe military reverse to agree to such terms, though the Greek historians themselves have passed it over in silence.

The Greek authors refer to Candragupta as a person of humble origin, without giving any further details. These uncomplimentary references to Candragupta in the Greek sources are quite understandable. One would therefore expect that Indian tradition would have preserved authentic, if not flattering accounts of a hero who liberated large areas of the land which had submitted to a foreign invader, and checked the onward march of peoples who, according to that tradition, were Mlecchas (Barbarians). But the tradition recorded in the Purāṇas, the official Brahmanical accounts of royal dynasties, is even less complimentary to Candragupta than the Greek accounts. He is said to have been an illegitimate son of the last Nanda ruler of Magadha, who is himself depicted as a worthless character. His patronymic—Maurya—is explained as "the son of Murā", a low-

1. For the events which took place in India after Alexander left that country, as they are given in Greek and Latin sources; see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 384ff.

born concubine of the Nanda king. *Murā* is apparently the offspring of the philology of the Brāhmaṇas, and Candragupta may be called illegitimate to the extent that they have deviated from their own grammatical rules in the creation of Murā as the mother of Candragupta.[2] Candragupta, according to the Purāṇas, secured the sovereignty over Magadha by making use of the wily stratagems of a Brahmin whose crookedness made him known to later generations by the name of Kauṭilya. The Purāṇas have no reference to the conquests of Alexander in the lands where the Vedic hymns were first sung; hence it was not necessary for these authorities to explain how the crookedness of this Brāhmaṇa withstood the spears of the Macedonian phalanx.

The *Mahāvaṁsa*, taken together with its commentary, furnishes Chandragupta with a more respectable descent. The chronicle says that he was born in the family of the Moriyas, but does not explain who the Moriyas were. As the chronicle was meant for Buddhist readers, they were probably expected to understand that the Moriyas were the aristocrats who constituted the republic of Pipphalivana. Their representatives are stated in the Book of the Great Decease, to have come to Kusinārā to obtain a share of the bodily relics of the Buddha, but as they came after the relics had been already divided among the various other claimants, they had to return home being content with charcoal from the funeral pyre. The commentator of the *Mahāvaṁsa* states that the Moriyas were Śākyas who had to leave their original homes to escape the wrath of Viḍūḍabha, the Kosala king, and established a settlement in the foothills of the Himalayas. Their connection with the Moriyas of Pipphalivana is suggested, but not expressly stated.[3] The *Mahāvaṁsa* also accepts the Puranic account of Candragupta securing the dominion of Magadha through the instrumentality of Kauṭilya, and has nothing to say of the Greek invaders and their annihilation by Candragupta. Thus, this founder of the first historical Indian empire has not received his due either in the Brahmanical or in the Buddhist literature that has hitherto been available as the sources of the history of ancient India. The enemies whom he conquered have been more eloquent about him than his own countrymen whom he liberated.

But some of the historical documents that we have recently recovered from oblivion indicate that the people of ancient India were not so insensitive of Candragupta's greatness, as the literature hitherto available forces one to conclude. Three different accounts of Candragupta, free of legendary and miraculous details, have been deciphered, one from the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, another from the redactation of the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa*, and the third—the

2. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 55.
3. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. V, vv. 16-17; *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (*Mahāvaṁsa-ṭīkā*) P.T.S.Edition, pp. 180ff.

longest—being a chapter of the *Paramparāpustaka*. The three accounts are in agreement with each other on many of the basic facts of Candragupta's origin and career, but they also contain wide divergences from one another with regard to important details. The three accounts are given separately even though this results in a certain amount of repetition. The account in the *Rvp.* is the earliest of the three, and is therefore given first.

CANDRAGUPTA'S CAREER ACCORDING TO THE RAJAVAMSAPUSTAKA

The *Rvp.* is in agreement with the other two authorities in tracing the descent of Candragupta to a personage named Mayūra who was the son of the President of the Republic of the Mauryas of Pipphalivana. But the career of this ancestor of Candragupta as given in the *Rvp.*, differs from that in the other two authorities. The scene of his activities and the careers of his descendants during five generations also differ from the corresponding details in the other authorities. According to the *Rvp.*, the personage named Mayūra from whom Candragupta was descended, came from Pipphalivana to Pāṭaliputra in the reign of King Ajātaśatru, obtained the post of a commander of the army under that monarch, and died while holding that high office. His son, also named Mayūra, was Commander-in-Chief of the Magadha kingdom. This high office was held by one Mayūra, son of the Senāpati of the same name, for five generations. The son of the fifth Mayūra who was a direct descendant in the paternal line of Mayūra the first, was Candragupta. The *Rvp.* traces the lineage of Candragupta in the ascending order to Mayūra, the son of the President of the Republic of Pipphalivana, and then comes down from father to son, stating that the Mayūra of each generation held the office of Senāpati of the kingdom of Magadha.

By the time of Candragupta, the fifth in descent from the general of Ajātaśatru, the family had evidently established for itself a position of great influence in the kingdom, for Candragupta, in addition to being the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Dhanananda, had also married Nandinī, the daughter of that monarch. While he was thus holding the post of Senāpati in the Magadha kingdom, he came to know that King Alakṣandara had come to the Pañcanada kingdom and, together with his army and equipment, Candragupta proceeded to the Pañcanada country, fought with the Yavana general named Philippa who had been stationed there, defeated him, captured the Pañcanada kingdom, the government of which he entrusted to King Parvvata who had given an undertaking to be a feudatory of Magadha. Candragupta stationed his general in the Pañcanada country, and was about to start in pursuit of King Alakṣandara, when it was brought to his notice that King Alakṣandara, after having been to the Sindhu kingdom, returned from there to the Bāveru kingdom, and had died there. Candragupta arrived in the Sindhu kingdom, fought with Siṁhala and defeated the latter. Candragupta captured the Sindhu kingdom and intimated to Siṁhala that he could continue to administer the Sindhu kingdom if he declared his allegiance to the Magadha kingdom. Siṁhala, however, did not desire to enter into such an undertaking because he had already sworn allegiance to King Alakṣandara. He therefore went to the Bāveru country, and from there sent a message to Calukya Nikatora (Seleucus Nicator), informing the latter that the Sindhu kingdom had been captured by Candragupta and that assistance was needed to wage war against him. Candragupta, in the meantime, stationed his general in the Sindhu country, and proceeded to the Suvarṇṇakuḍya country.

Having received Siṁhala's appeal for help, Calukya Nikatora himself came to the Sindhu country with his army and train, gave his own sister in marriage to Siṁhala, fought with the general who was stationed in the Sindhu country by Candragupta, defeated him and captured the Sindhu country which he gave to Siṁhala who was stationed there. He then proceeded to the Suvarṇṇakuḍya country in pursuit of Candragupta. Having arrived in Suvarṇṇakuḍya, he was not only defeated in a great battle which took place at a place named Maṇḍalagṛha, but was also made captive by Candragupta.

The *Rvp.* here makes a digression to state the fortunes of Siṁhala and his descendants. This would be dealt with in Chapter X.

"Anantayogya (Antiochus), the son of Calukya Nikatora, heard that Calukya Nikatora had been taken prisoner, and came to the Suvarṇṇakuḍya[4] kingdom from the Suriya kingdom (Syria). He decided that it was not possible to release his father by hostile action. Therefore he gave an undertaking to cede to Candragupta the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, the Gandhāra kingdom, the Takṣaśilā kingdom, the Sugdha kingdom (Udyāna), the Paropaniṣadha kingdom, the Suvāstu kingdom (Swat) and the Sindhu kingdom, and also to give to Candragupta (the princess) Suvarṇṇākṣi, the daughter of Calukya Nikatora, and having contracted a treaty on these terms with Candragupta, returned to the Suriya kingdom. Calukya Nikatora returned to the Suriya kingdom with the force of elephants given him by Candragupta, obtained victory in the great battle fought at a place named Ipsus, made the kingdom of Suriya an empire, reigned and died in due course.

"Accompanied by a great host, Candragupta returned to the city of Pāṭaliputra and caused King Dhanananda and his son Balananda to be slain, and seized the Magadha kingdom. He then arrived in the Avanti kingdom, waged war with King Sudhanvan who was reigning there, defeated him and seized the Avanti kingdom. Next he arrived in the Surāṣṭra kingdom, waged war with King Sumitra who was reigning there, defeated him and seized the Surāṣṭra kingdom. (Thence) he arrived in the Aparānta kingdom, waged war with King Mahānāga

4. For this and other names of territories given here, see Geographical Index, s.v.

who was reigning there, defeated him and seized the Aparānta kingdom. He placed all these kingdoms under the suzerainty of the Magadha kingdom, and thus made the state of Magadha an empire, making one kingdom of the whole of Āryāvartta. He received annointment in the year One Hundred and Forty Seven of the Buddhist era, reigned for thirty-seven years, and died in due course."

History of Candragupta as narrated in the Paramparapustaka

The son of the President of the Maurya Republic of Pipphalivana, from whom Candragupta was descended, according to the *Pp.*, went from his Himalayan home to the kingdom of Persia, and there won the hand of Princess Candravarṇṇā, a daughter of Dhārayatuvasu, King of Kings (Darius the Great), came to the city of Takṣaśilā and ruled that kingdom as its Satrap. After his death, his son Mayūra succeeded to the Satrapy of the Takṣaśilā kingdom. In this manner, a Satrap named Mayūra was succeeded as Satrap of the Takṣaśilā kingdom by his son Mayūra for four generations after the son-in-law of Darius.

The eldest son of Mayūra V, Satrap of Takṣaśilā, was named Abhisāra. He succeeded his father as Satrap while the second son, Candragupta, came to Pāṭaliputra, wedded Nandinī, the daughter of Dhanananda the king of Magadha, and was made the Commander-in-Chief of the Kingdom of Magadha. Arttakṣayārṣa, the King of Kings (Artaxerxes III)[5], came to know that the brother of his Satrap at Takṣaśilā had married a daughter of the ruler of another kingdom, and was functioning as its Commander-in-Chief, without obtaining, or even asking for, his permission to do so. He interpreted this as an act of disloyalty to him, and sent a peremptory command to Abhisāra to send Candragupta in chains to Pārśapura (Persepolis). Abhisāra was greatly agitated in mind on receiving that command of the King of Kings, and resolved that, even at the risk of his own life, he would ensure the prosperity of his younger brother. He sent a reply stating that he was unable to send Candragupta in chains to Pārśapura, and that the military establishment of the Takṣaśilā kingdom under his command was not at all adequate to capture the Commander-in-Chief of the kingdom of Magadha. This no doubt was the actual fact, but Arttakṣayārṣa, evidently contemptuous of the military might of Magadha, was greatly enraged that Abhisāra had disobeyed his command, and ordered a captain of the army to bring Abhisāra in chains to Pārśapura (Persepolis), to bestow the office of Satrap of the city of Takṣaśilā to Kunāla, born of the Muruṇḍa family (which originally exercised sovereignty over that city), and to obtain from him (Kunāla) an undertaking to remain subject to him. Abhisāra having learnt that the military officer

5. The name is interpreted in an explanatory note by a scholar of the 15th century as *Ṛtasya-dharmmasya kṣayabhūto gṛhabhūto ṛṣī rājā*, i.e. the mighty (king), who is the abode of righteousness.

from Pārśapura was approaching Takṣaśilā, and realizing that the force under him was not adequate to resist that officer successfully, retired with his followers to a mountain stronghold. The military commander who came from Pārśapura had only cavalry forces under him, and therefore was unable to pursue Abhisāra to his mountain refuge. On the other hand, he knew that the wrath of the King of Kings would fall on him if he returned to Pārśapura wthout taking Abhisāra with him. In this predicament, he sent a message to Arttakṣayārṣa stating that Abhisāra had arrived in a mountain stronghold, that when he started going in pursuit of Abhisāra, he received intelligence that the latter had put an end to his life with his own hands; he was therefore expecting to advance to the mountain stronghold after knowing the pleasure of His Majesty with regard to the matter.

"Having received this message, the King of Kings Arttakṣayārṣa was full of sorrow (at the fate of Abhisāra), and sent another message to the military commander from Pārśapura, instructing him to give the office of Satrap in the city of Takṣaśilā to Abhaya, the brother of Abhisāra, and to obtain from him (Abhaya) an oath of allegiance to him (the King of Kings). Kunāla came to know that a message had been sent by the King of Kings to the effect that the office of Satrap in the city of Takṣaśilā be given to Abhaya. He came to the city of Takṣaśilā with his army, captured the city, fought a battle with the military commander who had come from Pārśapura, defeated him and sent him fleeing towards the kingdom of Bāhlīka (Bactria). Kunāla denounced the undertaking that he had given to remain subject to the Persian empire, made the kingdom of Takṣaśilā an independent kingdom once more, and remained administering the kingdom in the city of Takṣaśilā.

"In the meantime, Arttakṣayārṣa, the King of Kings, went to the Miśara kingdom (Egypt) to wage war. The military commander who had come from Pārśapura and had now arrived and was remaining in the Bāhlīka kingdom, sent a message to the heads of the government in Pārśapura, intimating them of what transpired in the city of Takṣaśilā. The heads of the government in Pārśapura sent instructions to the military commander that when the King of Kings returned from the kingdom of Miśara, His Majesty would issue the necessary command with regard to what transpired in the city of Takṣaśilā; therefore, he should await the arrival of this command and remain in the Bāhlīka kingdom". This worthy, whose name has not been given, now passes out of the narrative. The events which move swiftly after this overtake him, and he no longer influences the destiny of the characters in the drama.

"When Arttakṣayārṣa, the King of Kings, returned from the Miśara kingdom, the Commander-in-Chief, named Bhaga, had him slain, and gave the position of King of Kings to his son Ārṣa. Within a short time, the Commander-in-Chief

Bhaga had Ārṣa also murdered, and the Persian empire was given to him named Dhārayatuvasu (Darius III). Kunāla heard of the attainment of the dignity of King of Kings by Ārṣa, and sent a message intimating that he had declared himself on the side of Ārṣa. Having heard of the attainment of Imperial Status by Dhārayatuvasu, Kunāla remained without taking any action.

"Abhisāra, on many occasions, swooped down from his mountain stronghold on the city of Takṣaśilā, fought with the army of Kunāla and slew many of his soldiers, but failed to capture the city of Takṣaśilā. Having heard that Dhārayatuvasu had received consecration as the Sovereign of the Persian empire, he sent a message stating that he was willing to take the oath of allegiance to him (Dhārayatuvasu). But Dhārayatuvasu had heard before, that Abhisāra was dead; he therefore concluded that the message was sent by someone else in his name, and gave no command with regard to that matter. Abhaya also sent a message to Dhārayatuvasu, stating that he also had become hostile to Kunāla, and was an ally of Abhisāra, and that he was willing to take the oath of allegiance to the Persian empire. Dhārayatuvasu considered that message also to have been sent by someone else in the name of Abhaya, and gave no command with regard to it. After that Abhisāra and Abhaya, without declaring allegiance to anyone, remained in their mountain strongholds as independent rulers who were hostile to Kunāla".

The events narrated above, assuming that they actually took place, were of very limited local interest, but they prepared the stage for later action by historical personages whose influence had been felt in wide spheres, and in ages not limited to their own. While these events were taking place and went almost unnoticed on the eastern border of the far-flung Persian empire, those which took place on its western frontiers and beyond, resulted in the days of that empire being numbered. To quote again the words of the *Pp*. "At this juncture King Alakṣandara arrived in the Pāraśika kingdom from the Magadha kingdom in the Paramayavanas, waged war with Dhārayatuvasu, defeated him, marched on to Pārśapura and became King of Kings of the Pāraśika empire. Kunāla heard that King Alakṣandara was marching towards Takṣaśilā in order to capture that city also, and sent envoys stating that he had declared himself to be on the side of King Alakṣandara and was sending presents". King Alakṣandara arrived in the city of Takṣaśilā and gave that kingdom to Kunāla who must have informed the Yavana invader about Abhisāra and his attempts to capture Takṣaśilā. Abhisāra himself was sitting on the fence. King Alakṣandara, the *Pp*. has recorded, sent him a message stating: "You have not come to see me; neither have you sent tribute. If you yourself do not come, or do not send tribute within seven weeks, I have decided to send Kunāla to bring you in chains before me."

Abhisāra received this message and, considering that the forces at his command were inadequate to deal with those of King Alakṣandara, sent a conciliatory message with presents, stating that he was not in good health, but was intending to come and present himself before King Alakṣandara as soon as he was restored to normal health, and that in the meantime, he was sending tribute. King Alakṣandara stationed a military commander at Takṣaśilā with instructions to wage war with Abhisāra if it became necessary to do so, to capture Abhisāra and deliver him bound to Kunāla. He himself crossed the Sindhu river,[6] arrived in the Pañcanada kingdom, fought with King Paurava who was ruling there, and defeated him. Being pleased with his great heroism, (King Alakṣandara) gave back his kingdom to him (Paurava) and arrived on the banks of the Śatahrada river.[7] Being there, he sent a message to King Dhanananda of the Magadha kingdom, commanding him that he give his kingdom to King Alakṣandara and receive it back from his (King Alakṣandara's) hands. Dhanananda sent an envoy intimating that he has given his kingdom to King Alakṣandara. King Alakṣandara sent an envoy to Dhanananda stating that the latter's kingdom had been returned back to him.

"Thereafter King Alakṣandara arrived at the mouth of the Sindhu river and thence returned to the Bāveru kingdom and remained there. Abhisāra having heard (that King Alakṣandara had left for the Bāveru kingdom), descended on the city of Takṣaśilā with his army, waged war with the Yavana commander who had been stationed there, and had him slain. He captured the city of Takṣaśilā and while administering that kingdom proceeded to capture the Pañcanada kingdom also, but was defeated by King Paurava and returned to the city of Takṣaśilā and remained there. King Paurava, too, was defeated when he attempted to capture the Takṣaśilā kingdom, retired on his part to the city of Sāgala[8], and was residing there. Abhisāra made a second attempt to conquer the Pañcanada kingdom, was again defeated, and retreated to Takṣaśilā. At this juncture, he thought of his brother Candragupta, who was holding the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Magadha kingdom, and sent a message soliciting his assistance to conquer the Pañcanada kingdom".

The messenger sent by Abhisāra was his (and Candragupta's) younger brother Abhaya, who came to Pāṭaliputra in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa. Having met Candragupta, Abhaya informed his brother in detail of what happened in Takṣaśilā since Candragupta left that city, and the vicissitudes through which Abhisāra and he had to pass. He ended by saying that if Candragupta's assistance was not received for the conquest of the Pañcanada kingdom, there was no alternative for himself and his brother but subjection to King Paurava. "And death

6. See above, p. 19.
7. See above, p. 20.
8. The modern Sialkot in Western Pakistan

were better than that". So saying, Abhaya started weeping.

Candragupta was deeply moved by hearing what Abhaya had to say. He realized that he was ultimately responsible for the hardships suffered by Abhisāra, his elder brother, and resolved to pay back the debt that he thus owed Abhisāra, by giving him the assistance asked for to conquer the Pañcanada kingdom. But he had to obtain King Dhanananda's consent to make use of the military forces of the Magadha kingdom for this purpose. Candragupta, accordingly, saw King Dhanananda, explained all the circumstances and his personal obligation to assist Abhisāra, and requested an army to conquer the Pañcanada kingdom and to give it to Abhisāra to rule as a vassal of Magadha.

Dhanananda, it is said, turned down Candragupta's request on the plea that he had given over his own kingdom and received it back from King Alexander; therefore it was not proper for him to conquer the kingdom of one who had sworn fealty to King Alexander and to give it to another. Candragupta, however, was not to be baulked of the opportunity that had come his way, not only of assisting his own brother, but also of possible aggrandizement of the Magadha kingdom. He took counsel with a number of trusted colleagues of his and, with their help, took with him one half of the military forces of the Magadha kingdom, left Pāṭaliputra and accompanied by his brother Abhaya, arrived in the city of Madhurā, having raised the standard of revolt against King Dhanananda.

"From Madhurā (Mathurā), Candragupta sent a message to Abhisāra stating that he had come himself with an army and equipment, and was staying at that city, and that therefore Abhisāra should again start hostilities with King Paurava. Meanwhile, Dhanananda sent another general to the city of Madhurā with necessary forces to pursue Candragupta, capture him and bring him back to Pāṭaliputra. Candragupta started to fight with that general, but the latter, realizing that it was not possible for him, with the forces at his disposal, to fight successfully with Candragupta, sent a message stating that he had himself taken the side of Candragupta. With the army that accompanied that general, and his own army, Candragupta went forward (from Mathurā) to enter the territories of the kingdom of Pañcanada.

"At this juncture, King Paurava having heard that Abhisāra was again marching to capture the Pañcanada kingdom, started from the city of Sāgala to go forward and give battle to him. But, having learnt that Abhisāra had turned round and retreated to his own country, and deciding that the army with him was not adequate to enter his (Abhisāra's) territory, began marching back to the city of Sāgala. At that juncture, Candragupta came from the rear and began attacking Paurava's army with his own army. Abhisāra wheeled round again, and began attacking Paurava's army from the front. Being attacked from the rear as well as from the front, the army of King Paurava came to a very dangerous

position. Candragupta sent a message to him that he could as before continue to reign over the kingdom of Pañcanada being subject to Candragupta. As he had already given an oath to remain subject to King Alakṣandara, King Paurava did not desire to swear allegiance to Candragupta. He therefore cut his head off with his own hand, and encountered death on the battlefield itself. Candragupta caused the last honours to be paid to him (Paurava), entered the city of Sāgala, took possession of the kingdom of Pañcanada and gave it to Abhisāra. Saying that he himself must administer the kingdom of Takṣaśilā, which had come down to him in the succession of father and grandfathers, he requested that the kingdom of Pañcanada be given to Abhaya. Candragupta accepted his (Abhisāra's) word, and gave the kingdom of Pañcanada to Abhaya. With his army, Candragupta also remained at the city of Sāgala.

"In the meantime, Calukya Nikatora, who had been a general of King Alakṣandara and who, after King Alakṣandara had died, had received the kingdom of Bāveru and was administering the kingdom of Bāveru, heard that Abhisāra had caused to be slain the (Yavana) general who was stationed in the city of Takṣaśilā, which belonged to the kingdom of Bāhlīka, and was waging war with King Paurava, to take possession of the kingdom of Pañcanada also. He said that it was a great insult to the Yavana power that the city of Takṣaśilā was captured by Abhisāra, that the city of Takṣaśilā should therefore be recaptured and incorporated into the kingdom of Bāhlīka and a Yavana force, sufficient to make it impossible for anyone to attack the kingdom of Pañcanada again, should be stationed there.[9] (So saying) he started from the city of Bāveru accompanied by a great host, and in order to reach the city of Takṣaśilā, arrived in the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakudya.

"Candragupta heard that Calukya Nikatora had come to the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakudya, and was staying there; he reflected within himself that it might become very difficult to defeat him later if he was allowed to come as far as the city of Takṣaśilā. He therefore took counsel with Abhisāra, Abhaya and the commanders of the army, and decided upon a plan of campaign. He made arrangements for the army of Abhaya and for the two armies that had come from the kingdom of Magadha, to advance towards the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakudya, and for the army of Abhisāra to remain at the city of Takṣaśilā, to collect the provisions and other stores necessary for the armies that had advanced to the front, and to despatch them. Candragupta himself, accompanied by the armies of the Magadha kingdom and the army of the Pañcanada kingdom, started from the city of Sāgala and arrived at Puruṣapura. Together with the retinue of Parvata, the chief of the Kirātas who was there, he marched along a route pointed out by

9. Seleucus Nicator had not heard of the capture of the Pañcanada country by Candragupta before he started from Babylon.

Parvata, and arrived at a place named Maṇḍalagṛha at a distance of seven *gavyūtis* northwest of Puruṣapura.[10]

"There he kept his armies concealed on either side of a roadway that lies between two mountains, and ordered a few horsemen to go forward and stay concealed until the army of Calukya Nikatora had taken to the road, and then to hasten back and inform him about it. Those horsemen lay in wait concealed in the vicinity of the camp of Calukya Nikatora, and started to return in haste when they became aware that Calukya Nikatora's army took the road.

"The horsemen who were the scouts of Calukya Nikatora saw these (Candragupta's) horsemen, and gave chase to them. These horsemen (of Candragupta) remained behind a rock and (having allowed the scouts to overtake them) came behind them, attacked and killed them. They then arrived in the camp of Candragupta, and informed him that the army of Calukya Nikatora was marching along the road. Candragupta gave a signal to Parvata, who obstructed the road in front by placing across it one half of the elephant force of the kingdom of Magadha

"Calukya Nikatora having come to know that the horsemen who went forward as scouts did not return, concluded that an enemy force was in the vicinity, and gave order that his men go forward quickly and attack that force. Calukya Nikatora's troops rushed forward and, having seen the elephants that were across the road, took them to be rocks, and thinking that they had lost their way, turned round to go back and get on to the proper road. Just at that time, Candragupta again gave the (pre-arranged) signal to Parvata, who placed the remaining half of the elephant force across the road and obstructed Calukya Nikatora's way of retreat. Then Candragupta gave the signal for the bowmen who stayed concealed on either side of the road to come out to the open, and to discharge their arrows (at the enemy) simultaneously. All those bowmen came out of their hiding places and discharged their arrows, all in unison. The archers mounted on the backs of the elephants also discharged their arrows. Being attacked from the front, from the rear and from the two sides, the army of Calukya Nikatora came to great grief."

The unvarnished narrative of the *Pp.* has thus conducted us to the point at which Seleucus Nicator walked into the trap prepared for him by Candragupta. In all the years of fighting in which he had taken part following his great leader, and in the many campaigns he conducted since the demise of Alexander, there

10. This place appears to be in the modern Khyber Pass. An explanatory note has it that according to information supplied by an envoy who had come to Suvarṇṇapura from Persia, the site was known as Hayabhrū in the fifteenth century. In this we can easily recognize the prototype of the modern 'Khyber'. A *Stūpa* is said to have been built at a later date to mark the site of the battlefield.

was no occurrence that could be paralleled with this. From his experience with Indian troops who opposed Alexander's onward march, he would never have dreamt of such strategy on their part, and the shock of finding himself surrounded by enemies, one might think, would have undermined his courage. But even in the narrative of these events from one whose sympathies must have been on the side of Candragupta, the cool courage and the personal gallantry exhibited by Seleucus Nicator at this hour of peril stands out in bold relief. We continue with the narrative of the *Pp.*

"Calukya Nikatora having realized that his army had been beleaguered, remained in front of his army, mounted on his horse with great courage, and having addressed the soldiers in a loud voice, said; 'We have been beleaguered. An occasion has arrived for us to exhibit the courage, the heroism and the knowledge of action suitable to the place, of the Yavana people. All the soldiers, in unison, should endeavour and remove the obstruction (formed of) elephants placed by their enemies across the road." So saying, he himself rushed with great speed and arrived at the elephant obstruction, cut away, with his sword, the trunk of the first elephant of the first row, lifted it with both hands and exhibited it to his army saying that if all the soldiers put forth their best effort, it will be possible to move the elephant obstruction from its place. He ordered that the horsemen attack the elephants with their javelins, that the foot soldiers advance in phalanx formation and cut the trunks of the elephants with their swords, and break the elephant obstruction with stones hurled from catapults.

"Candragupta, on his part, gave the order for the horsemen of his army to stand in front of the elephant obstruction, to engage in fights with the horsemen of Calukya Nikatora and to turn them back; for the archers who were on either side and were mounted on elephants, to shoot simultaneously in volleys at the foot-soldiers of Calukya Nikatora advancing in phalanx formation. In this manner, the battle continued for the whole day. At the end of the day, many horses and men of the army of Calukya Nikatora had fallen. Great loss had been incurred by the army of Candragupta also. Of the horsemen of Candragupta, those who did arrive at the scene of battle were not many, for it was not possible for many to pass through the elephant obstruction.[11] The horsemen of Candragupta who did arrive at the fighting front were all, either killed or wounded. Many of the archers of Candragupta were also wounded or killed by the horsemen of Calukya Nikatora, or by his foot-soldiers who advanced in phalanx formation. But their places were taken by others who came from the rear. Of the elephant obstruction which was in front, the elephants of the first row were all wounded or killed. Of the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh rows, not a single elephant was wounded or killed. The elephant obstruction remained in position through-

11. *Hasti-sambādha* is the technical term occurring in the Sanskrit text of the *Paramparāpustaka*.

out the night; it is possible for elephants to sleep and take their food while standing. The exhausted elephants were taken away from the site of the obstruction, and in their places other elephants brought from the rear were made to stand. Throughout the night, the elephant obstruction was protected by horsemen. No damage was caused to the elephant obstruction which was in the rear. In that also, the exhausted elephants were taken out and other elephants brought from the rear were made to stand in their places.

"On the second, third and fourth days also, the battle continued in the same manner. At the close of the fourth day, a number exceeding a thousand among the horsemen, and a number exceeding ten thousand among the infantry, of the army of Calukya Nikatora, had been killed. The wounded were much more in numbers. The remaining horses and men were in a state of exhaustion; nevertheless, the army was eager to continue the battle on the fifth day also. But it was not possible to bring the food, drink and other material necessary for the army, and if the battle was to be continued on the fifth day, the army had to do without food. It would have been possible for the army of Candragupta to utterly destroy such an army. On these considerations, and reflecting that it would be possible for him, if he remained alive, to rule the kingdom of Bāveru and the kingdom of Suriya, (Calukya Nikatora) took counsel with his generals, and sent a message to Candragupta stating that he was willing to surrender to Candragupta together with his army and equipment.

"Having received that message, Candragupta gave the signal that the lives were to be spared of the enemies that were remaining. Calukya Nikatora came to the camp of Candragupta, saluted him (Candragupta) in the Yavana manner, and stood on a side unarmed. Candragupta received him and ordered his own attendants to give him food, drink, and other necessities. He also ordered to give the fodder necessary for the horses and food to the men of Calukya Nikatora's army. The army of Calukya Nikatora was disarmed, and sent to a fortress at a distance of five *gavyūtis* from Maṇḍalagṛha and were kept there imprisoned.

"Candragupta remained at Maṇḍalagṛha for some days to enable his army to recover from their exhaustion, and to make the preparations necessary for marching back, and started to arrive at the city of Takṣaśilā. At this juncture, Calukya Nikotara came to see him and questioned whether it was necessary to take him also to the city of Takṣaśilā. Candragupta replied that it had been decided to take him also to the city of Takṣaśilā, and from there to the kingdom of Magadha, where he would be kept imprisoned until the end of his life. Then Calukya Nikatora inquired in what manner his release could be effected. Candragupta replied that if all the territories to the east of the home provinces (*mahāmaṇḍala-rājya*) which belonged to the Persian Empire, were ceded to him, he would release Calukya Nikatora. Calukya Nikatora further questioned whether

it was possible to release him at the price of the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya, the kingdom of Gandhāra, and the kingdom of Suvāstu." The curt reply of Candragupta—a reply which decided the fate of millions of human beings for several generations to come, was: "I have told you how your release can be obtained; if you do not accept it, I will right now give the order to have you carried to the kingdom of Magadha."

"Calukya Nikatora further inquired whether it was possible to retain with him the kingdom of Bāhlīka (Bactria), if he were to give Candragupta his daughter Suvarṇṇākṣī in marriage. To this Candragupta replied that if Suvarṇṇākṣī be given to him, it would be possible for Calukya Nikatora to retain the kingdom of Bāhlīka in his hands, and that he was further willing to make a gift of five hundred elephants as the bride-price on account of her.

"Calukya Nikatora accepted that proposition and gave a promise that he would cede to Candragupta the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya,[4] the kingdom of Gandhāra, the kingdom of Suvāstu, the kingdom of Paropaniṣadha, the kingdom of Haryaśva,[4] the kingdom of Gṛdhrāsya,[4] the kingdom of Balakṣasthāna[4] and the kingdom of Sindhu. He also gave a promise to send his daughter Suvarṇṇākṣī within seven months to the city of Takṣaśilā. Accompanied by the force of elephants given him by Candragupta, and what was remaining of his own army, he went back to his own kingdom."

Thus has the dispassionate narrative of Bhadrasthavira painted a picture of the meeting of two great figures of history, both founders of empires which embraced large areas of the then civilized world, and lasted for several generations —verily a meeting between the turbulent and provocative West, subdued for the time being, and an unruffled and self-confident East which had succeeded in defending itself, though destined to go under in the future—a meeting which influenced the course of history for untold generations, and of which the consequent forces have not yet spent themselves.

"Accompanied by a great host, Candragupta came back to Takṣaśilāpura and was congratulated and received by Abhisāra who was there. He remained there for some days and organized his army. Many horses and elephants were added and many soldiers were enlisted to the army. The retinue of Parvata was also incorporated into the army; Candragupta gave the rank of a general to Parvata.

"Candragupta sent the general who came (in pursuit of him) from Magadha to take possession of and to organize the kingdoms that were acquired by him. Together with a vast army, he came to the city of Madhurā and, being there, he despatched a message to King Dhanananda, informing him of all that had transpired in connection with Calukya Nikatora. King Dhanananda despatched a message in return in which he made accusation against Candragupta for not

bringing Calukya Nikatora to Pāṭaliputra. Candragupta sent a second message intimating that in the event of the kingdom of Magadha being surrendered to him, he would assign the lordship of a territory adequate enough for King Dhanananda and his son to live in comfort. King Dhanananda sent a message ordering Candragupta to return to Pāṭaliputra. Having received that message, Candragupta started from the city of Madhurā to arrive at the city of Pāṭaliputra. Having heard of that, the general of King Dhanananda who was at the city of Pāṭaliputra, sent a message to Candragupta, declaring his own allegiance to Candragupta. Having arrived at the city of Pāṭaliputra, Candragupta caused Dhanananda and his son Balananda to be slain, and seized the sovereignty of Magadha.

"Being there (at Pāṭaliputra), Candragupta again reorganized the standing army of the kingdom of Magadha and the army that arrived with him from the kingdom of Pañcanada, and accompanied by the forces of the kingdom of Magadha, he went to the Mālava kingdom, waged war with the Mālava king, and captured the Mālava kingdom. From there, he arrived in the Avanti kingdom, waged war with the Avanti king, and captured the Avanti kingdom. From there, he arrived in the Surāṣtra kingdom, waged war with the Surāṣtra king and captured the Surāṣtra kingdom. From there, he arrived in the Aparānta kingdom, waged war with the Aparānta king and captured the Aparānta kingdom. In this manner, he made one kingdom of the whole of Uttarāpatha, and receiving anointment in the city of Pāṭaliputra, reigned for twenty-five years, and died in due course."

CHAPTER FIVE

CANDRAGUPTA (Contd.)

ACCOUNT IN THE SUVARṆṆAPURA-VAṀŚA

In the preceding chapter, we have given the accounts of Candragupta as they have been narrated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* and in the *Paramparāpustaka*, almost in the very words of their authors. The account given in the other source, the *Suvarṇapuravaṁśa*, need not be repeated in such detail.

The career of the founder of Candragupta's family, the son of the President of the Maurya Republic of Pipphalavana, and the four Śatrapas named Mayūra, each one the son of the preceding, who followed one another in the next four generations, are introduced to us by the *Spv.* in the same words as the *Pp.* The son of Mayūra-śatrapa V, also named Mayūra, came to the city of Pāṭaliputra, married a daughter of King Dhanananda, and obtained the office of Senāpati of the Magadha kingdom. For some unstated reason, this Senāpati Mayūra revolted against Dhanananda, went to the Yavana kingdom, remained there and returned to the city of Pāṭaliputra with an army given him by the Yavana king, waged war with King Dhanananda, captured the city of Pāṭaliputra, received the kingdom of Magadha, remained reigning for five years and died. After the death of this Mayūra-rāja, his son Candragupta received the sovereignty of Magadha, and was reigning there when he heard that King Alakṣandara had invaded the Pañcanada kingdom (of Paurava). "Taking the forces of the kingdom of Magadha with him, Candragupta arrived in the Pañcanada kingdom, and learning that King Alakṣandara had gone to the Sindhu kingdom, he waged war with the Yavana general who was stationed in the Pañcanada country, defeated him and captured the Pañcanada country. He then arrived in the city of Takṣaśilā, waged war with the Yavana general stationed there, captured the Takṣaśilā kingdom, and was preparing to start for the Sindhu country. Then he heard that Calukya Nikatora had arrived in the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom with the intention of capturing the city of Takṣaśilā. Candragupta marched towards the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, fought a great battle at a place named Maṇḍalagṛha, defeated and captured Calukya Nikatora." Then follow the names of the kingdoms, as in the *Pp.*, ceded by Calukya Nikatora to Candragupta, together with the hand of his daughter Suvarṇṇākṣī, to obtain his release. The gift of five hundred elephants by Candragupta to his intended father-in-law is also mentioned. "Candragupta returned to Pāṭaliputra with the forces of the Pañcanada country, and with the combined forces of Pañcanada and Magadha, conquered, one after the other, the kingdoms of Mālava, Avanti,

Surāṣṭra and Aparānta. Having unified the whole of the Āryāvartta, Candragupta received consecration in the year One hundred and seventy-seven of the Buddhist era and reigned for thirty-seven years."

The statement in the *Spv.* that the father of Candragupta who proclaimed himself an insurgent after having been the general of Dhanananda, went to the Yavana kingdom and came back with an army given by the Yavana king, has been discussed in the course of a controversy on the credibility of this chronicle, conducted in the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) at Polonnaruva.[1] It appears that the *Spv.* refers to Dhanananda as the founder of Pāṭaliputra. Alakṣandara the Rūma-vāṇija, who has already been referred to, has pointed out that the foundation of the city of Pāṭaliputra and the accession of Dhanananda occurred in times prior to the advent of king Alakṣandara into the Pañcanada kingdom, that there was no intercourse between Jambudvīpa (India) and the Yavana country before King Alakṣandara, and that therefore the story given in the *Spv.* about Candragupta's father capturing the throne of Pāṭaliputra with the assistance of the Yavana king, cannot be accepted as true.

Buddhapriya-sthavira the author of the *Yrv.* who defended the *Spv.* in this controversy, frankly admits that the reference to Dhanananda as the founder of Pāṭaliputra is due to an error,[2] but quotes the opinion of Garuḍācārya in support of the statement that the father of Candragupta captured Pāṭaliputra with the help of an army given him by the Yavana king. Garuḍācārya's opinion in the matter is thus quoted: "The existence of a Yavana kingdom in the neighbourhood of the Gandhāra kingdom, even before the advent of king Alakṣandara to the Pañcanada kingdom, is referred to even in the account of King Alakṣandara. It is stated in the book of Strābava-paṇḍita (Strabo) that King Alakṣandara, when he arrived in the Yavana kingdom, was overjoyed at seeing his kinsmen, and invited them to reside in his kingdom. Alakṣandara, the Rūma-vāṇija, is said to have later accepted this opinion of Garuḍācārya."

The reference here is obviously to the inhabitants of Nysa who claimed to be of Greek origin.[3] Whether the Nysaeans were numerous enough to provide Mayūra-rāja with an army that could decide the issue in a conflict with the king of Magadha is extremely doubtful. An army, in marching from the hills of these frontier regions to Pāṭaliputra, had to traverse several kingdoms, and whether this could have been effected without causing it much loss is another question.

1. See *The Transactions of the University of Ceylon (Peradeniya) Linguistic Society*, Vol. I, pp. 80ff.
2. He admits the authoritativeness of the reference in the Vinayapiṭaka (see *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, Vol. XVII, p. 102) to the foundation of Pāṭaliputra by Ajātaśatru before the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha.
3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 316-7.

Garuḍācārya's opinion on this point seems therefore to have been arrived at with no proper conception of the geography of the regions to the west of Magadha, and one would hardly be convinced of its soundness today, even though he could prevail over the Rūma merchant by quoting from Strabo.

According to the *Spv.*, Candragupta was the king of Magadha when Alexander invaded the Punjab. He had succeeded his father who had wrested the throne from Dhanananda. We know from Greek sources that Dhanananda, or at least a Nanda king (Nandros), was ruling the great kingdom to the east of the Punjab when the Macedonian conqueror came on the Indian scene. According to Indian tradition given in the Purāṇas, and the drama called *Mudrārākṣasa*, as well as the Ceylon tradition contained in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, it was Candragupta, and not his father, who supplanted the Nandas on the throne of Magadha[4]. The story of the *Spv.* with regard to Dhanananda being deprived of the Magadha kingdom by Mayūra, the father of Candragupta, has therefore to be rejected.

Examination of the three accounts of Candragupta

The *Rājavaṁśapustaka* was written about eight centuries prior to the compilation of the *Paramparāpustaka*. One would therefore be naturally inclined to prefer its account of events which took place in the fourth century B.C., to that of the later source. With regard to the first—and perhaps the most significant—discrepancy between the two accounts, i.e. the descent of Candragupta, it will be the opinion of the vast majority of students of history that it is in the fitness of things that the founder of the Maurya dynasty was descended from a line of Senāpatis of the Magadha kingdom. The first Mayūra, the son of the President of the Moriya Republic, was according to the story given in the *Mahāvaṁsa-ṭīkā*, the scion of a clan of the Śākyas, which had to leave its original home due to persecution by the ruler of Kosala.[5] At that time, Magadha was a state inimical to Kosala, and it is quite natural for a Śākyan who had suffered at the hands of the ruler of Kosala, to seek the protection of Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha. Ajātaśatru, on his part, could have trusted a member of the Śākya clan to be enthusiastic in the conduct of any campaign undertaken against Kosala. A refugee coming from a Śākyan republic would therefore receive a welcome as well as preference from the Magadha king. It is also quite likely that the office of Senāpati became hereditary in the family of Mayūra for five generations. On account of its Śākyan origin as well as for the reason of its holding the office of Senāpati for several generations, the family must have enjoyed immense social prestige, and one of its scions could very well have been considered

4. *Ibid*, pp. 420ff; *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. 5, vv. 16-7.
5. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, P.T.S. Edition, p. 180.

a desirable son-in-law by the upstart Nanda ruler of Magadha.

On the other hand, the story given in the *Paramparāpustaka*, of a scion of the Maurya clan of Pipphalivana going to Persia and marrying a daughter of Darius the Great, seems at first to be most unconvincing. If the Maurya youth did actually arrive in Persia and found favour with Darius, his appointment as Satrap of Taxila is not difficult to believe, and the position could well have come down in the family for generations. It was in the reign of Darius that the territories on either side of the Indus were added to the dominions of the King of Kings. The circumstances in which these territories passed under Persian sway are at present not known in detail, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an adventurous scion of the Maurya clan of Pipphalivana, found himself in the region of Takṣaśilā, and became of service to the Persian monarch in the acquisition of these territories. The city of Takṣaśilā, it should be remembered, was a celebrated seat of learning which attracted noble youths from all parts of India, and if the son of the Saṅghapramukha of the Mauryas had gone to Taxila for his education, when the Persian monarch was planning to add that city to his dominions, it is not difficult to imagine that opportunities came to the young Mayūra of which he took full advantage. Such an event would have been abnormal, but history is full of abnormal happenings. An explanatory note added by a scholar of the fifteenth century has recorded that in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* also, the pedigree of Candragupta was originally given as it is in the *Paramparāpustaka*, but has been later altered, due to political considerations, to what is found there now.

In the history of Candragupta, as now accepted, there are certain details which make the connection of his family with the region of Takṣaśilā, as given in the *Pp.*, to be plausible. The attack on the garrisons left by Alexander in the Punjab and other areas that he conquered in India, are said by Justin to have been led by Candragupta.[6] Had Candragupta, as stated in the *Rvp.*, belonged to a family which for generations had lived in Magadha, his anxiety to rid the Indus region of foreign invaders seems unusual. On the other hand, if he was the scion of a family with intimate connections with Taxila, he would have considered it incumbent on him to rid the land of his birth, of the foreigners who had occupied it by force.

After his successful encounter with Seleucus Nicator, the latter ceded to Candragupta extensive territories to the west of the Indus—territories which never before belonged to the State of Magadha. These territories became part of Candragupta's empire, and remained in that empire even in the time of Asoka, his grandson, as is proved by the discovery of inscriptions of that monarch in

6. Justin XV, 4. See also *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 2.

areas at present included in Afghanistan.[7] It is therefore clear that these territories were so organized that they remained within the empire for nearly a century. In other words, their inhabitants, on the whole, acquiesced in the rule of Candragupta and his descendants. Had Candragupta been a native of Magadha, his concern with these territories, inhabited in large part by people who differed in speech and culture from those of Magadha, and the continued loyalty of those peoples to Candragupta and his descendants, seem rather inexplicable. On the other hand, if Candragupta, as stated in the *Pp.*, was the scion of a family which supplied Satraps to the province of Taxila for several generations, Candragupta himself would have been keen to be master of regions over which his ancestors had held viceregal authority, and the people of those lands, once the central authority of the Persian empire had been removed, would have looked upon Candragupta as their natural leader, and co-operated with him in his fight against the garrisons left behind by Alexander and the subsequent invasion led by Seleucus Nicator.

From the accounts, left by Megasthenes and other Greek writers, of Candragupta's court and the administration of his empire, as well as from remains unearthed in the Mauryan levels of Taxila and on the site of the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra, it is seen that the Persian influence was very great in Mauryan court life, the planning of their royal residences and public buildings, in religious and domestic art, and in many other aspects of political and social life.[8] This far-reaching Persian influence is quite natural if Candragupta was the son of a Satrap of the Persian King of Kings, and was the scion of a family which had held that exalted office from the time of Darius the Great, almost up to the end of Achaemenian rule. A native of Magadha would hardly have been influenced to that extent by Persian institutions. The descent of Candragupta given in the *Pp.* should not therefore be rejected out of hand, as some would be inclined to do, though it may not for the present be accepted as definitely established.

The events which, according to the *Pp.*, took place in the kingdom (or rather the satrapy) of Taxila after Candragupta had left that city to become the son-in-law of Dhanananda, and the Commander-in-Chief of Magadha, read like a chapter of accidents, the outcome of which was that the writ of the Persian King of Kings ceased to run in that region towards the close of the reign of Artaxerxes III. The kingdom of Taxila was seized by a scion of the family

7. For the inscriptions of Asoka in Greek and Aramaic found in the vicinity of Kandahar, see *Journal Asiatique* for 1958, pp. 148 ff. and *ibid*, 1964, pp. 137ff. For the fragmentary Asoka inscription in Aramaic found at Laghman, see *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XIII, p. 80 f.

8. See, Sir John Marshall in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 563; Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 44; B. D. Spooner, *The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History*. in *JRAS* for 1915, pp. 63-89 and 405-455.

which had exercised sovereignty there before the Persian dominion was imposed, and the Indian prince named Abhisāra, elder brother of Candragupta, who was functioning as Satrap, was forced to take refuge in the hills. The new king of Taxila is said to have declared his allegiance to the prince who was placed on the Persian throne after the murder of Artaxerxes III, but became independent again when Darius III became King of Kings. The former Satrap Abhisāra also became independent. Thus, at the time Alexander came on the scene, even before the last King of Kings was decisively defeated, there could have been no concerted action by the rival princes who had managed to impose their authority over as much as they could of the former Persian dominion.

"Abhisāra" of our document, which is used as a personal name, clearly corresponds to "Ahisares" of the Greek writings, in which the name appears to be territorial.[9] But in those days, there was no clear line of demarcation between the name of a ruler and the territory over which he ruled. The king of Taxila is simply called Taxiles in the Greek sources. In our document, he is called Kunāla, by his personal or probably family name. As Kunāla is said to have renounced his allegiance to the Persian empire, his willingness to go to the side of Alexander is understandable. According to our document, Abhisāra was the enemy of Kunāla; therefore when the latter found favour with Alexander, the unwillingness, at first, of Abhisāra to submit to Alexander is quite natural. Just as it was the case with Abisares in Greek sources, it was after Alexander threatened Abhisāra with dire consequences, that he considered it prudent to send presents through envoys to the Yavana conqueror. Pleading ill-health, he remained behind in the hills. According to Greek sources, it was Abhisāra's brother who was sent to Alexander with gifts. This prince is not named in those sources; in our document he is called Abhaya. The reference to Paurava in our document in connection with Alexander's campaign has nothing incompatible with the Greek historians. Thus, the account in the *Pp.*, though it is not based on any of the Greek sources, and materially differs from them in many particulars, is confirmed by them with regard to the main events that are narrated.

Similarly, the references made in the *Pp.* account of Candragupta to personages and events in the Persian empire are in accord with the known facts of Persian history. The visit of Artaxerxes III to Egypt to wage war, the murder of that emperor on his return from Egypt, and the accession of Darius III to the imperial throne, are referred to in accordance with facts.[10] It is noteworthy that the names of persons and places figuring in Persian history of the time are given in their old Persian forms or near equivalents, i.e. "Arttakṣayārṣa" for "Artaxerxes", and "Dhārayatuvasu" for "Darius". The conclusion, therefore,

9. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 313ff.
10. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI, pp. 21 ff.

is forced upon us that the narration of events in the *Pp.*, in this part of the account, is based on a genuine historical tradition, independent of that recorded by the classical historians.

The account of the *Rvp.* does not go into details about the advent of Alexander into the Punjab. It merely states that when Candragupta was functioning as the Commander-in-Chief of the kingdom of Magadha, he heard that Alexander had invaded the Punjab, and he went there, evidently with the forces of the Magadha kingdom, to face the invader. The *Pp.*, in its account of Alexander, has stated that the Yavana conqueror sent a message to Dhanananda to formally submit to him, and that Dhanananda sent a message in return stating that he had done so. In its account of Candragupta, the *Rvp.* is silent about the attitude of Dhanananda himself to Alexander's invasion of the Punjab. It also does not state whether Candragupta asked for and obtained Dhanananda's approval for his using the forces of the Magadha kingdom in this expedition to the Punjab. We have perhaps to infer that Candragupta went to the Pañcanada country after he had broken away with Dhanananda. For, it is stated that immediately after he returned victorious from the Punjab, he had Dhanananda and his son put out of the way.

According to the *Pp.*, many things happened in Takṣaśilā and the Pañcanada country after King Alexander left for Bāveru, and before Candragupta came on the scene. Abhisāra having heard that the invincible Yavana monarch had left those regions far behind, swooped down from his mountain stronghold on Takṣaśilā, fought with the Yavana commander who was there, slew him and captured that city. He then had a trial of strength with King Paurava, twice failed in his attempt to conquer the Punjab, and thought of appealing to his brother at Pāṭaliputra for help. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of Kunāla in the fight for the capture of Takṣaśilā, but Paurava was powerful in the Punjab. This is quite contrary to what we read in the Greek books, according to which King Paurava was treacherously slain by the Greek commander soon after Alexander had left, and Taxiles had been given important responsibilities.[11] Our document has a different story to tell of the manner in which Paurava ended his life. And its silence about Kunāla and the express mention that the city of Takṣaśilā was captured by Abhisāra after fighting with and slaying the Greek commander, indicate that it was Kunāla who had been the victim of Yavana treachery. Had Kunāla been alive, Abhisāra would have had to settle accounts with him before he captured Takṣaśilā. If he was treacherously murdered by the Yavana commander, his retainers, too, would have been on the side of Abhisāra against the foreigner, making Abhisāra's task easier than it otherwise would have been. And it was Taxiles, i.e. Kunāla, who was in a position to come into conflict with the Greek commander, for Alexander, after the assassination of Philippus, the Macedonian governor, had sent despatches to Taxiles and a

Thraeian officer named Endamus, instructing them to make themselves responsible for the government. Joint responsibility would have meant rivalry and conflict. It therefore appears that the Greek sources had confused Taxiles with Porus. With regard to these sources, it has been stated by a competent authority: "The statements of the original authorities, besides being meagre, are so fragmentary, that they are seldom perfectly intelligible".[11] The account in the *Pp.* should not therefore be discredited on the ground of its varying with the Greek authorities with regard to the death of Paurava.

The manner in which Candragupta is represented, in the narrative of the *Pp.*, as taking a part in the struggle in order to repay the debt he owed his brother, has a dramatic touch. It is not impossible that events actually took shape in that manner. But the intervention on the side of those resisting the Yavana invader was a step calculated to be of the greatest political advantage to the state of Magadha, which also proved, in the internal conditions prevailing in the Magadha state at that time, to be the realization of the utmost personal ambition of Candragupta. Magadha would have let a grand opportunity for its aggrandizement pass by, if it remained inactive in the face of the Yavana inroad to the west of its frontiers. Not only that, she might have invited aggression against her own self if she remained a passive onlooker, and not an active participant in the events.

Even though there is no mention of the Persian empire founded by Cyrus in the preserved literature of India, the existence of that great political entity would have been known to, and influenced the policy of those who guided the destinies of the state of Magadha from the days of Ajātaśatru. Merchants frequently travelled between Takṣaśilā and Pāṭaliputra; so did learned men and religious teachers. When the kingdom of the Śūrasenas was absorbed by Magadha, probably in the time of the Nandas, the distance which separated the western frontier of the Magadha empire from the eastern marches of the territories of the King of Kings, was not very great. The number of petty states between these two imperial systems, such as the kingdoms of Paurava, must have been influenced by the one or the other according to the fortunes of either of the empires at a given time, but it must have been to the interest of both to preserve their independence so that they acted as buffers.

The knock-out blow dealt to the great Persian empire, by the king of a people of whose existence the rulers of Magadha were almost unaware, must have had a stunning effect on them, and there was perhaps anxiety among them when the forces which drove the King of Kings from his throne crossed the eastern boundaries of the Persian empire and conquered the kingdom of Paurava.

11. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 384.

Even though Dhananandа did not humiliate himself by sending an envoy to Alexander as stated in the *Pp.* that monarch must have breathed a sigh of relief when news came to him that the invaders had turned their backs on his state. But the Yavana garrisons left behind in the Punjab and along the course of the Sindhu river, and the fact that a number of rulers in that region had sworn allegiance to the Yavana kingdom, must have caused uncertainty. If he was born and bred in Takṣaśilā, as the *Pp.* states, Candragupta must have regarded the events there and in the Pañcanada country, so far as they came to his knowledge, with apprehension, and must have been earnestly considering the policy that the state of Magadha should adopt—whether to wait and watch and adopt a defensive policy, or to throw the weight of the military machine of Magadha against the Yavana invaders. When news arrived of Alexander's return to Babylon, and the dissensions between the commanders of the Yavana garrisons and the indigenous rulers, it must have dawned on Candragupta that he and the state of Magadha might acquire a part of the spoils left by the ruin of the Persian empire. If he was, in fact, the son of a Satrap of that empire, he must have felt that a share of the spoils was his legitimate right. He no doubt discussed these matters with other military leaders, and converted many of them to his way of thinking, by pointing out to them the avenues of personal advancement that lay before them by adopting a bold policy.

But Candragupta, it appears, was unable to convince Dhananandа of the necessity of Magadha taking an active part against the Yavana invaders. He was for caution, and that for very good reasons. The evidence of Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical authorities, as well as the Greek writers, is unanimous in depicting Dhananandа as being intensely disliked by his subjects. In such circumstances, his taking part in a major war might have given the opportunity for those who were ill disposed towards him to create trouble, which might have resulted in the sovereignty of Magadha passing away from him and his family. The preservation of his own position and that of his family, was all important in his consideration, and he did not wish to jeopardize them by undertaking adventures abroad, however attractive and promising of greatness and glory they were.

If the news reached Candragupta at the Magadha capital, of the death of Alexander in Babylon and the struggles which ensued among his generals in the division of Alexander's conquests, he would have been convinced that the spoils of the defunct Persian empire could be seized without much risk; and this situation finally tipped the scales with him and his military colleagues for vigorous action. But this had to be adopted by breaking with Dhananandа.

With such forces as Candragupta had with him it was no difficult task for him to vanquish Paurava, but he saw to it that the desired objective was attained with the minimum of loss on his side. Paurava ended his career in the best

Kṣatriya tradition, and there were no adversaries of any note to be dealt with after him on the Indian scene itself.

But when the news arrived that Seleucus Nicator, one of the ablest of Alexander's generals, was on the way to Takṣaśilā with a mighty army to rehabilitate Yavana power in India, many of Candragupta's colleagues perhaps thought that it would have been better had they not joined him in this adventure. Candragupta himself did not underestimate the danger that was threatening to engulf him. He, however, did not lose his self-confidence, and planned to counteract it effectively. He rightly decided that the Yavana forces must be met and dealt with before they emerged from the mountain barrier to the plains, and prepared his plans to encounter the enemy and destroy him at a place of his own choosing, where the advantage of the terrain would be in his favour, and would nullify the advantages which the Yavana forces possessed over the Indians of manoeuverability and speed. He also planned to make the massive weight of his elephant battalion serve to check the impetuosity of the enemy soldiers in a static position. He must have studied the dispositions of the forces in the engagements in which Alexander's troops overcame those of the Indian princes, and decided not to make the mistakes made by them. How he put these plans of his into execution and with what results, has been narrated in the document itself. The success of his plan of campaign required absolute secrecy with regard to his own movements, and awareness by him of the movements of the enemy. The knowledge of the local terrain possessed by Parvata, the Chief of the mountain tribe called Kirātas, was exploited to the maximum. The successful outcome of his plan also depended on the smooth working of the supply organization, which was entrusted to his brother. In one bold stroke, he brought the adversary within his power and forced him to cede vast territories, the conquest of which had cost Alexander many months of weary marching in mountainous terrain, and scores of engagements in which the loss of human life on both sides had been many times that which ensued in this single battle. Once he had gained his objective, he entered into a matrimonial alliance with his adversary, so that the enmities could be forgotten and the two royal houses could co-operate for mutual benefit. Candragupta was magnanimous enough to resist the temptation of exhibiting the captured enemy to his people in a triumphal march, as Dhanananda probably wished to have done.

The site of this memorable battle which decided the fate of India for the next century and a half, is said to have been seven *gavyūtis* from Puruṣaapura (Peshawar) to the north-west. It was possibly the mountain defile now known as Khyber pass. In fact, a comment added when the extract from the *Pp.* was incised on stone, had stated that Maṇḍalagṛha was later called Hayabhru, in which we can easily recognize the earlier from of the modern name Khyber. A stūpa

is said to have been erected in later ages to mark the site where Seleucus Nicator was captured by Candragupta.

The *Rvp.* makes Candragupta march to Sindhu and fight with Siṁhala who, unwilling to dishonour the pledge given to Alexander, goes to Babylon and appeals to Seleucus Nicator for help. The latter defeats Candragupta's general in the Sindhu country and goes to Suvarṇṇakuḍya in pursuit of Candragupta, and was defeated at Maṇḍalagṛha. The *Pp.* brings Calukya Nikatora to the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom direct from Bāveru (Babylon).

The view that Candragupta in his youth met Alexander is not supported by the narrative of the *Pp.* In fact, the name taken as Alexander in the passage of Justin which has given rise to this view, has now been amended to "Nandros" (Nanda).[12]

Candragupta's encounter with Seleucus Nicator took place before he had captured the throne of Magadha. Covered with glory and having acquired large territories, he returns to Pāṭaliputra in triumph, and the generals sent by Dhanananda to fight with him declare their allegiance to him. Dhanananda did not accept the terms offered by Candragupta. He and his son Balananda are put to death.[13] The capture of power by Candragupta was thus effected with little bloodshed, and there was no great battle between his partisans and the forces of Dhanananda as has been referred to in the *Milindapañha*.[14]

The conquests effected by Candragupta in India are given almost in the same manner by the three authorities. The countries conquered are given as Mālava, Avanti, Surāṣṭra and Aparānta in the *Pp.* and the *Spv.* The *Rājavaṁśapustaka* omits Mālava, but gives the names of the rulers of the three countries who were defeated by Candragupta. He is said to have unified the whole of Āryāvartta or Uttarāpatha (*Pp.*). Candragupta does not appear to have been concerned with any place to the south of the Vindhya range.

The maintenance of Candragupta's power over the vast regions included in his empire appears to have involved further fighting. It has been reported in the *Rvp.* that a prince named Saubhūti was able to maintain himself as an insurgent in the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom for seven years.[15] The fact that the general of Candragupta was only able to take the field against Saubhūti after the latter had exercised power for seven years, indicates that there was trouble closer to the heart of the empire, and that these had to be dealt with before punitive action could be taken against an enemy in a remote province.

12. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 423; Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. xxxiv, f. n. 2.
13. The son of the last Nanda king is named Malayaketu in the *Mudrārākṣasa* a name which is hardly likely to have been prevalent in Magadha in that age.
14. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Milinda* (SBE, vol. XXXVI p. 147). The reference here can be to a war which Candragupta had to wage after he was proclaimed Emperor.
15. See below p. 88

CHAPTER SIX

BINDUSĀRA AND DHARMĀŚOKA

Candragupta is said, in the account given in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, to have had a son from Nandinī, the daughter of Dhanananda, whom he had espoused when he was the Commander-in-Chief of the Magadha kingdom. This prince, it is said, died young. The throne of Magadha and of the empire that Candragupta founded, passed to his son from Suvarṇṇākṣī, the daughter of Seleucus Nicator. In Greek sources, the son of Candragupta is called "Amitrochates", which is clearly the equivalent of Sanskrit "Amitraghāta", (the Slayer of Foes). This name, or rather title, has so far not been met with in any of the preserved literary works. The names by which the Purāṇas refer to the second Maurya emperor are "Nandasāra" or "Bhadrasāra", both of which appear to be copyists' errors for "Bindusāra".[1] But the title "Amitraghāta" must have been used in literary works in ancient times; the Greeks could not have invented it.

The following remarks on the name of the son of Candragupta has been made by Buddhapriya-sthavira in the course of a controversy on the relative merits of the *Mahāvaṁśa* and the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa* held at Polonnaru in the reign of Parākramabāhu I in the year 1173:

"The son obtained by Candragupta of Suvarṇṇākṣī is called "Bindusāra" in the *Mahāvaṁśa*. In the *Purāṇa* books also, he is called "Bindusāra". In the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa*, however, he is called "Amitraghāta". "Bindusāra" is a Persian name. It has been stated in the *Paramparāpustaka* that the Maurya family was of Persian origin. It is in the fitness of things that a Persian name was in vogue in a royal family which had its origin from the Persian royal family. But it has been stated by Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, that in the Yavana books also, the name of the son of Candragupta is found as 'Amitraghāta'. The *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa* is credible.

"In the commentary of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the queen of Candragupta who was the mother of Bindusāra is called "Puṣkarākṣi"; this must be an error for the reading 'Suvarṇṇākṣī'."

The statement attributed to the *Pp*. in the above passage that the Maurya dynasty was of Persian origin must have been the reference to the first Satrap named Mayūra, the son of the President of the Maurya Republic of Pipphalivana, as the consort of a daughter of Darius I. The Satrap named Mayūra who succeeded the first of that name was evidently a son of this princess. This statement shows that Buddhapriya reckoned descent in the maternal line. If the commentary of the *Mahāvaṁśa* referred to above is the work now extant as the

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 446.

Vaṁsatthappakāsinī, it should be noted that the text of that work, as it has been handed down, does not give the name of Candragupta's queen who was the mother of Bindusāra. It is not impossible that the name "Pokkarakkhi (Puṣkarākṣī)" was given in the appropriate place in the manuscripts known to Buddhapriya in the twelfth century, and that it had dropped out due to the negligence of copyists in later times.[2] Buddhapriya's statement that the name of Candragupta's son was given as "Bindusāra" in the *Purāṇas*, indicates that "Nandasāra" and "Bhadrasāra" are later corruptions of the name "Bindusāra". The first element of this name is said to be the same as *Vinda*, occurring in such names as *Vindapharṇa* and the second element the equivalent of Skt. *aiśvarya*. The name therefore means "One who has or is to exercise sovereignty" or "Winner of sovereignty".[3]

The Greek historians have not recorded anything about Amitraghāta except the oft-repeated story of his request for figs and philosophers.[4] He is only a name in the *Purāṇas*, and in the Pali chronicles he is only memorable for being the father of a hundred sons whom he had begotten; as the event proved, for Asoka, his second son, to massacre. Bindusāra has been overshadowed by his father, the founder of the Maurya empire, and by his son Dharmāśoka, the visionary. But the account of Bindusāra, given in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, reveals for the first time in our days, that this emperor actually earned the title of "Amitraghāta" by which he was known to the world outside his empire, and that he not only bequeathed to his son and successor the empire that he had inherited from his father, but also made extensive additions to it by the military campaigns that he undertook.

King Antiochus I (Anantayogya) of Syria (Suriya kingdom) who succeeded his father Seleucus Nicator, appears to have resolved to wipe out the disgrace suffered by Greek arms at the hands of Candragupta, and undertook an expedition in the course of which he advanced as far as Suvarṇṇakuḍya in the Maurya dominions. Bindusāra marched with his army to meet the invader, and gained a decisive victory. The details of the fighting are not given, but it is said that hostilities were brought to a close by Antiochus acknowledging the

2. According to the commentary of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Bindusāra's mother was a daughter of Candragupta's maternal uncle who came to reside at Pāṭaliputra when his sister became the queen of Candragupta. See *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, P.T.S. Edition, p. 187. It is possible for this statement to have been made on the assumption that the cross-cousin system of marriage, which was the rule in the time of the author of this commentary, was equally operative in the time of Candragupta also. The cross-cousin system of marriage seems to have prevailed among the Sākyas.
3. The commentary of the *Mahāvaṁsa* has given a popular story to explain the name "Bindusāra". See *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, P.T.S. Edition, p. lxxxiii.
4. *Cambridge History of India*, Vo. I, p. 389.

sovereignty of Bindusāra over the kingdoms of Suvarṇṇakuḍya, Paropaniṣadha, Gandhāra, Suvāstu, Haryaśva, Gṛdhrāsya, Balakṣasthāna and Sindhu.[5] On this basis, a treaty of friendship was concluded between the two empires. Thus the territories which Candragupta wrested from Seleucus Nicator continued to be in the firm grip of Bindusāra.

The Maurya Emperor, during this campaign, is said to have entered the kingdom of Bāhlīka (Bactria), fought with the Yavana general who was stationed there, defeated him, and made the kingdom of Bactria acknowledge the suzerainty of the Magadha empire. Bactria obviously had not yet declared its independence and broken away from the Seleucid empire, for Bindusāra is said to have fought with the Yavana general who was stationed there, and not with a king of Bāhlīka. Then the question arises why Bindusāra considered it necessary to invade Bactria, a province of the Seleucid empire, after concluding a treaty of friendship with Antiochus. The Yavana general in Bactria at the time, whose name is not given, perhaps refused to acknowledge the validity of the treaty which his nominal overlord was forced to sign, and Bindusāra found it necessary to make the ruler of Bactria acknowledge his overlordship, if the latter was not prepared to observe the conditions of the treaty which his suzerain was forced to sign. However, the suzerainty of the Maurya empire thus imposed on Bactria does not appear to have been enforced for any length of time after Bindusāra's expedition. Thus, Bindusāra totally subdued the power of the Yavanas, so far as it concerned the Maurya empire.

Having dealt with the potential threat to his dominions from the west, Bindusāra could now devote his energies to the expansion of the boundaries of the empire towards the South. He remembered Siṁhala, who had sworn allegiance to the Yavanas, and was ruling Sindhu. On making inquiries about that partisan of the Yavanas, he was told that Siṁhala had migrated to the Puṇḍra country (North Malabar and South Konkan), and from there was exercising sovereignty over Dakṣiṇāpatha.[6] Bindusāra was enraged, and ordered one of his generals, a Parthian named Śastra Dramiḍa[7], to conquer Dakṣiṇāpatha and bring Siṁhala in chains to Pāṭaliputra. Śastra Dramiḍa, with adequate forces, first conquered and occupied the Mahārāṣṭra country, and having established his base there, subjugated one after the other the Karṇāṭamaṇḍala, Mahiṣamaṇḍala (Mysore), Pallavabhogyamaṇḍala[8], Colamaṇḍala and Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala. Lastly, he arrived in the Puṇḍramaṇḍala and inquired after Siṁhala. He was told that Siṁhala was already dead, and that his son, Muruṇḍa Śiva[9] by name, had arrived

5. See the Geographical Notes, s.v.
6. See above, pp. 18-19 and 38-39.
7. See below, p. 124 for the term Dramiḍa.
8. See Geographical Notes. This territory is referred to by a name which came into vogue later.
9. See below, p. 118,

in the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi, had uprooted the royal family that was formerly ruling there, seized the sovereignty over the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi, and was reigning there. Śastra Dramiḍa was further told that a very large number of ships was necessary to invade Tāmraparṇṇi with his army. On the other hand, if he invaded Tāmraparṇṇi with a small army, it would not be possible to defeat Muruṇḍa Śiva. Evidently, Śastra Dramiḍa was unable to muster the shipping necessary to transport his army, or the greater part of it, to the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi, and he did not want to court defeat by invading the Island with a small force. In this predicament, he attemped to evade the task set for him and sent a despatch to Bindusāra stating that he had arrived in the Puṇḍra country and conquered it, that the son of Siṁhala, Muruṇḍa Śiva, had been defeated and that Siṁhala himself had died some time ago.

Bindusāra, having received that despatch of Śastra Dramiḍa, saw through the dissimulation of that general, that he was trying to shirk the main task that he was ordered to perform, and was furious. He sent a message severely reprimanding Śastra Dramiḍa, and ended by saying that if Muruṇḍa Śiva was not brought in chains to Pāṭaliputra, another general will be sent to bring Śastra Dramiḍa in chains to Pāṭaliputra. Śastra Dramiḍa was much perturbed in mind on receipt of that order of Bindusāra, and replied saying that he was on the point of starting to Tāmraparṇṇi. The Parthian general collected together a large number of vessels, loaded them with his great host and the military equipment necessary for them, and set sail for Tāmraparṇṇi. But fate was against him, and not a single ship of his great armada arrived at its destination. When the armada was in mid-ocean, a violent storm arose and wrecked almost every vessel, and the whole army perished with a few exceptions. By some good fortune, Śastra Dramiḍa himself was able to return to the Puṇḍra country unhurt. From there, he sent a despatch to Bindusāra intimating the Emperor of what took place. It was a great disappointment for Bindusāra to receive the news of the calamity that befell his armada. He is said to have remarked that a mighty effort was necessary to conquer the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi, and what was to be gained by conquering that Island could be had without incurring all that expenditure and risk. He, therefore, entered into a treaty of friendship with Muruṇḍa Śiva. The condition on which Muruṇḍa Śiva agreed to the treaty was that the Maurya Emperor acknowledged the suzerainty of the kingdom of Tāmraparṇṇi over the Colamaṇḍala, the Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala and the Puṇḍramaṇḍala. Bindusāra thus gave his support to Muruṇḍa Śiva to make the Tāmraparṇṇi kingdom a Mahārājya (empire). This account, which is given in the *Rvp.*, is also repeated in the *Spv.*

Whether it was undertaken with the purpose of capturing Siṁhala, as stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* or not, the conquest of large areas of the Dekhan by

Bindusāra has been inferred from circumstantial evidence. Candragupta is not recorded to have extended his conquests south of the Vindhyas, and the only military conquest of Aśoka was Kaliṅga. But Aśoka, as the presence of his inscriptions testify, ruled the Dekhan up to Mysore.[10] These regions therefore must have been added to the Maurya empire by Bindusāra. What has been inferred by circumstantial evidence is now confirmed by the direct statement of the *Rvp*.

The tradition of Bindusāra's conquest of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, recorded in the *Rvp*., appears to have been prevalent among the Buddhists of India, too, and arrived in Tibet when Buddhist literature and traditions were introduced into that country., For it has been recorded by Tārānātha that Bindusāra and his minister Cānakya destroyed the kings and the nobles of about sixteen cities and reduced to submission all the territory between the eastern and the western seas.[10] The expression "between the eastern and the western seas" would be applicable to the Dakṣiṇāpatha more than to the Uttarāpatha. Moreover, the whole of the area north of the Vindhaya had already been included in the Magadha Empire in the reign of Candragupta, and there is no mention of any serious rebellion in those countries during the reign of Bindusāra, except that in Takṣaśilā, to be dealt with in the sequel. The tradition recorded by Tārānātha, therefore, gives a measure of support to the account of Bindusāra given by Mahā-Buddharakṣita Sthavira in the beginning of the fourth century.

The regions named as those conquered by Śastra Dramiḍa are well known by the same designations in later times also. The region referred to as Pallava-bhogya was evidently not known by that name in the time of Bindusāra; the author of the *Rvp*. has made use of a name by which the region to the north-east of the Cola-maṇḍala, i.e. the Telugu country, was referred to in his day.

To the north and east of the Pallava-bhogya was the Kaliṅga country which does not figure among the conquests of Śastra Dramiḍa. In fact, Kaliṅga was not included in the Maurya empire before its conquest by Asoka. The destruction of the Maurya army in the attempted invasion of Tāmraparṇṇi no doubt gave a respite to Kaliṅga. The fitting out of another expedition to conquer Tāmraparṇṇi and to round off the conquest of Dakṣiṇāpatha by capturing Kaliṅga also would have taxed the resources of the Empire to a point which would tempt the Yavana power waiting for an opportunity to pay off old scores. Bindusāra therefore decided to cut the losses inflicted by Nature, and thereafter adopted a policy of reconciliation with Muruṇḍa Śiva. Perhaps the acknowledgement by Bindusāra of the sovereignty of Tāmraparṇṇi over Cola, Pāṇḍya and Puṇḍra, which were conquered by Śastra Dramiḍa, was also forced on him by circumstances. Muruṇḍa Śiva, no doubt, took full advantage of the opportunity that

10. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 19.

presented itself to him by the loss of the Maurya army which attempted to invade his kingdom. The territories of the Cola, Pāṇḍya and Puṇḍra which had submitted to Śastra Dramiḍa, would have been held by numerically weak Mauryan forces, after the main army had been lost in the sea, and could have been occupied without much trouble by Muruṇḍa Śiva. Otherwise, there was no reason for Bindusāra to have surrendered these regions, conquered by Śastra Dramiḍa, to the ruler of Tāmraparṇṇi. On the whole, Bindusāra's campaign in the south, due to circumstances beyond the control of his military commander, contributed to the weakening of the Empire. Bindusāra decided wisely not to spend too much of men and material in the conquest of the south, and thus weaken the defences of the Empire in those areas where formidable enemies were poised to pounce upon it at the first opportunity.

ASOKA

No separate account of Asoka (always referred to as Dharmmāśoka in these documents) has been recorded on these stones. Perhaps the *Pp*. did not consider it necessary to give a separate account of that monarch, as he is the subject of a number of well-known works in which the theme is dealt with from the religious angle. But events connected with the career of Asoka are incidentally alluded to when dealing with other matters. A brief but very valuable account of the pacification by Asoka of the Takṣaśilā kingdom, which had revolted against the local ruler in the reign of Bindusāra, is given in a document in which the descent of Candragupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty of later times, is traced to Abhisāra, the elder brother of Candragupta, the Maurya.

We have mentioned above that Abhisāra, when he was offered the kingdom of Pañcanada, preferred to remain as the ruler of Takṣaśilā, where his forefathers had held the dignity of Satrap for five generations. The government of Abhisāra I as the ruler of the Takṣaśilā kingdom appears to have been acceptable to the people, and the relations between him and his brother, the Emperor of Pāṭaliputra, appear to have been cordial. This Abhisāra I was succeeded in the viceroyalty of Takṣaśilā by his son, Abhisāra II, who does not appear to have been liked by his subjects. Towards the latter part of the reign of Bindusāra, the Muruṇḍas, as the indigenous people of the Takṣaśilā region were called, rose in revolt against Abhisāra II, who suffered a crushing blow at their hands, and was forced to flee. He came to the Pañcanada kingdom, and took refuge with his cousin, named Abhaya, who had succeeded Abhaya I, the younger brother of Abhisāra I, as the ruler of Pañcanada.

Bindusāra heard of the serious state of affairs in the Takṣaśilā kingdom which was fraught with grave danger to the Empire, for the Yavanas who were

waiting for an opportunity to pay off old scores could have exploited the situation. He lost no time in equipping a mighty army and the most capable of his sons, Asoka, was sent to Takṣaśilā at its head. Asoka defeated the chief of the Muruṇḍas, but he did not restore Abhisāra II to the viceroyalty, for that would have resulted in the repression of the Muruṇḍa people. What was needed was not a policy of repression, but one of reconciliation. He therefore entrusted the government of the Takṣaśilā kingdom to the Chief of the Muruṇḍas, and in order to ensure his loyalty to the Emperor, sent his son as a hostage to Pāṭaliputra. Abhisāra II died in the Pañcanada country. His son, also named Abhisāra, proved treacherous to his host, i.e. Abhaya, the grandson of Abhaya, the brother of Candragupta, and managed to supplant him as the ruler of Pañcanada. Abhaya III came to Pāṭaliputra, and remained there as a *mahāmātra* in the reigns of Bindusāra and Asoka.

The quelling of the revolt in Takṣaśilā by Asoka in the reign of Bindusāra is also referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* which states that the insurgents' grievance was not against the king, nor the prince, but the wicked ministers who held authority in Takṣaśilā.[11] This is in consonance with the action of Asoka in entrusting the government of the province to the leader of the revolt, after it was quelled. Asoka therefore appears to have adopted a policy of reconciliation instead of repression, perhaps due to the realization of the necessity to conserve all the available strength of the Empire after losses sustained in the attempted invasion of Tāmraparṇṇi.

The fact that Bindusāra sent Asoka to Takṣaśilā to deal with the situation that had arisen in that provincial capital indicates that the Emperor considered this prince to be the most capable among his many sons. He was, however, not the eldest, and after Bindusāra died, his eldest son, Tiṣya, duly succeeded to the throne of Magadha and to the Empire. Asoka was not content to occupy a subordinate position. According to the document that we are quoting from, Asoka was viceroy in Avanti when his father died. The available sources do not state that there was any reason other than personal ambition which prompted him to make a bid for the Empire. Perhaps while being viceroy of Avanti, Asoka exploited the traditional rivalry between Avanti and Magadha, and was therefore able to muster the forces of the former kingdom to support him against his elder brother. However this may be, Asoka came to Pāṭaliputra with a mighty host, slew his brother and captured the heart of the Empire. Our document, in stating that the eldest son of Bindusāra was named Tiṣya, differs from the Ceylon tradition, according to which the eldest of the sons of Bindusāra was named Sumana. This prince and ninety-eight other half-brothers of his were put to death by Asoka before he captured the throne. The Ceylon tradition also does

11. *Divyāvadāna*, edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, p. 372.

not state that the eldest son of Bindusāra was elevated to the throne of Magadha and of the Empire before Asoka came to Pāṭaliputra from Ujjain, where he was viceroy. Tiṣya, according to Ceylon tradition, was the brother of Asoka from the same mother as his, and was made *uparāja* when Asoka was consecrated. Tiṣya later entered the Buddhist religious order. According to the tradition recorded in Sanskrit Buddhist literature, which our document seems to have followed, the younger brother of Asoka who entered the Saṅgha was named Mahendra who converted Ceylon to Buddhism. According to Sinhalese tradition the Thera Mahinda (Mahendra), who led the Buddhist mission to Ceylon, was a son of Asoka.[12] The ministers and other dignitaries acknowledged Asoka as sovereign. The great majority of the subordinate rulers in the provinces who, as a matter of course, had sworn allegiance to Tiṣya when the latter succeeded to the throne, would have hastened to transfer their allegiance to Asoka when he succeeded in making himself acknowledged as Emperor at the capital. But there was at least one feudatory ruler who was prepared to take the risk of being loyal to the defeated prince. This was Abhisāra, the ruler of the Pañcanada country. We do not know whether he took this step solely for the reason that right was on the side of Prince Tiṣya, or whether his sense of personal grievance against Asoka had anything to do in the decision that he took to remain loyal to Tiṣya to the end. We have seen above that Asoka, after he put down the revolt of the Muruṇḍa people in Takṣaṣilā, did not restore that province to Abhisāra who was its previous ruler.

Asoka marched with a powerful army to the Pañcanada country, and had to wage war with Abhisāra before he could make himself acknowledged as Emperor. Abhisāra was utterly defeated in the field, and was himself taken prisoner. Asoka kept him in prison and incorporated the Pañcanada kingdom in the Empire as a province administered by a satrap, i.e. the territory lost its local autonomy.

Subsequently, Asoka relented in his attitude towards his kinsman, released him from prison and made him ruler of the Avanti kingdom. Abhisāra, of course, must have given the necessary oaths of loyalty to the new Emperor.

Abhisāra continued to govern the Avanti kingdom, as a feudatory of Asoka, up to the end of his life, and was succeeded in that capacity by his son, of the same name (Abhisāra IV). This Maurya continued to be the viceroy of Avanti until the Śuṅgas supplanted the Mauryas. Unwilling to accept the new order, he went back to the Pañcanada country and accepted the position of a territorial magnate under Dhīmitra (Demetrius), the Greek king who had taken the place of the Maurya there. The subsequent history of the family does not concern us here.

12. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. V, vv. 18-21; 37-40, and chap. xiii, vv. 1-70.

The arrangement made by Asoka for the direct administration from the centre, through a satrap, of the Pañcanada country, was no doubt due to its strategic position in the event of an invasion of the empire by the Yavanas or other enemies from the north-west. Candragupta was able to place complete confidence in his brothers at Takṣaśilā and Sāgala, for their interests were the same as those of the Emperor at Pāṭaliputra, and there was amity between the two brothers. The indigenous elements of the population, after its experience with the Yavana invaders, were willing to submit to Maurya rule. Asoka found it necessary, in the interests of the stability of the Empire, to supplant his kinsman at Takṣaśilā by the Chief of the Muruṇḍas. The relation between Abhisāra and Abhaya also deteriorated, and the former ousted the latter. This shows that these two Maurya princes enjoyed local autonomy to the extent of being able to go to war with each other without reference to their suzerain. Asoka was no doubt conscious of the danger of this state of affairs, and when Abhisāra took the side of his rival in the succession dispute, he found an excuse for taking that prince away from the Pañcanada country, and take the administration of that region under his own surveillance, through a satrap directly responsible to him. Though it was at first found necessary to incarcerate Abhisāra, the obligations that his grandfather owed to the grandfather of Abhisāra were not forgotten, and he was elevated to a high position in the Empire, where the local people had no reason to be prejudiced against him.

We know from Buddhist literary works that the eldest son of Asoka was named Kunāla.[13] From the accounts of Alexander and of Candragupta which we have given above, it is now known that this was alao the name of the Muruṇḍa king who was exercising sovereignty at Takṣaśilā when the Macedonian conqueror arrived at that city. Perhaps the name was borne by other Muruṇḍa chiefs before him, and was one to which the people of that race had a sentimental attachment. The name Kunāla borne by a Maurya prince, who might one day occupy the throne of Pāṭaliputra, was a reminder to the Muruṇḍa people that they had themselves a stake in the Empire, and that it was their duty to defend it. Asoka must have given this name to his son, possibly born when he was at Takṣaśilā, as a gesture of goodwill to the Muruṇḍa people, whose willing co-operation in the defence of the Empire he was anxious to be assured of. The kingdom of Takṣaśilā lay at the gateway to the Maurya Empire (India in later terminology) and to have the support of the indigenous people of that region, who were then, as now, tough fighters, must have been a valuable asset to any invader coming through the Khyber Pass, as well as to an army entrusted with the defence of the Empire in that region.

Asoka's relations with Ceylon will be dealt with in Chapter X, together

13. *Divyāvadāna*, op. cit., pp. 406 ff.

with other references to the Island, and to the founder of her ancient royal family, contained in these documents. The names of certain satraps of foreign origin who were in charge of important provinces in the reign of Asoka will be noticed in Chapter IX.

The Yavana kings with whom Dharmmāśoka maintained friendly relations are referred to in the *Yrv.* when it gives the succession of rulers in the kingdoms founded by Alexander's generals. In the Syrian kingdom, as reported by Buddhapriya on the authority of the *Rvp.*, it was Anantayogya, the grandson of Calukya Nikatora; in the Miśara kingdom, it was Turumāya Evuragata, son of Turumāya Philadalpha; in the Magadha kingdom, it was Antigona Gonāta, who maintained friendly relations with Dharmmāśoka, and gave permission for the preaching of the Buddha-dharmma in their respective territories. Mahāmahendra-sthavira who, according to these sources, was the brother and not the son of Asoka, is said to have visited all these three countries, and preached the Dharmma some time before he came to Ceylon. Sotara Maga, the king of the Kurīṇa land (Cyrene), is also said to have maintained friendly relations with Dharmmāśoka, but there is no mention of the Dharmma being preached there. Our sources agree with modern scholars in the identification of the rulers of Syria and Macedonia who maintained friendly relations with Asoka. However, according to modern scholars, it was Ptolemy Philadelphus who is referred to in the Asoka inscriptions as Turumāya[14]; our sources state that it was his son and successor, Euregetes, who gave permission to preach the Dharmma in the Miśara kingdom. This monarch came to the throne in 247 B.C. and the date of Asoka's accession as now fixed is 268 B.C. As the edict of Asoka in which five Greek rulers are named does not mention the regnal year, one cannot definitely say that our sources or the modern scholars have erred. No reference to the Yavana king Alakasandara (Alexander) named in the Asoka edict together with the others, has been found in our sources.

The reading of the inscriptions of Asoka by Śivaśarmma-paṇḍita in the twelfth century has been referred to above. According to an old *Life of Garuḍācārya*, the Brahmin scholar Śivaśarma read the Asoka inscriptions with the aid of a chart giving the values of the symbols used in those inscriptions, left in the library of the Pāla kings by Garuḍācārya (Guruḷugōmi). This scholar, the author of the *Dharmmapradīpikā* and the *Amāvatura*, is said to have been the son of a Sinhalese merchant who had settled in Suvarṇṇapura (Śrīvijaya), and a Malay mother. He is said to have come to Ceylon with Samara Vijayottuṅga in 1044, and spent five years in the Island, most of the time at Mihintale. His attention was drawn to the inscriptions of different periods at that ancient monastery, and studying the script backwards from those close to his time, he could ascertain the value of the symbols in the script now referred to as Brāhmī, in which the inscriptions

14. E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. xxx.

in the caves at Mihintalē were witten. Later, he visited the Pāṇḍya country, and read the inscriptions in the caves there. He extended his travels to the Pāla kingdom, where he was shown by the Pāla king of the time copies of some inscriptions in an unknown script, which Garuḍācārya read and explained as documents engraved on stone by the orders of King Dharmmāśoka. With the help of these readings preserved in the palace of the Pāla kings, Śivaśarma-paṇḍita read not only the inscriptions of Asoka within the limits of the Pāla kingdom, but also those outside it. He also extended his epigraphical studies to documents written in times later than the reign of Asoka, but there is no evidence that Garuḍācārya or Śivaśarmma was aware of the edicts of Asoka in the Kharoṣṭhi script in the north-west of India, Pakistan at present.

It may not be out of place here to refer in brief to an account of the statues of King Asoka in the attitude called *rājyadhurandhara* (bearing the yoke of sovereignty) contained in a discourse of a scholar named Ānandasthavira who flourished in the fifteenth century. This account has been written over earlier writing on inscriptions of still earlier date, on the orders of King Vīra Parākramabāhu (1477-1496) of Kōṭṭe (Jayavardhanapura).

The document begins by stating that Vikramabāhu (1111-1132) gave orders to carve the statue of his father Vijayabāhu I in the attitude called *rājyadhurandhara*. This statue is then identified with the carving in high relief on the rock at the site known as Potgul-vehera in Polonnaru[15]. The document continues that though the *Śilpaśāstras* do not mention an attitude of this name for images, statues of kings holding the yoke of sovereignty in both hands, were not uncommon in Ceylon and Śrīvijaya in former times. This type of image, it is further explained, was not an invention by artists of Ceylon or of Śrīvijaya, but was introduced to Ceylon from Jambudvīpa in ancient times, and from Ceylon to Śrīvijaya. For it is said to have been stated by the Chinese Sthavira Phahiyan (Fa-Hsien) that he had seen four statues of King Dharmmāśoka with the hands holding a yoke. The book of Fa-Hsien's travels, it is said, was translated into Sanskrit by I-Tsing, and a copy of it was still available in the Royal Library of Śrīvijaya in the fifteenth century.

Of these four statues of Dharmmāśoka in the *rājyadhurandhara* attitude, the pieces of one, broken on the orders of King Śaśāṅka, were joined together again on the orders of King Dharmapāla. The restored statue was kept in the palace of the Pāla kings at Mudgagiri, and was seen there (in the latter half of the twelfth century) by Śivasarmma-paṇḍita, who very frequently visited the palace of Mudgagiri, in connection with the History of Pāla Kings, that he was compiling. A merchant named Gaṇapati-śreṣṭhin, the head of the merchants'

15. For this statue, see *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. xv, pp. 209-217, and theUniversity of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 605-6.

guild of the Pāla kingdom, who visited Suvarṇṇapura, is also said to have confirmed the statement of Śivaśarmma, that a statue of Asoka with hands in that attitude, was kept in the palace of the Pāla kings, which he had seen himself.

The statue of Asoka which was in the palace of the Pāla kings was again broken into fragments by the Muhammadan general Bhaktyar Khalji. Its fragments, including the two arms holding the yoke, were lying at a place named Mongir, and were seen there by a Muhammadan merchant named Rasula Mahammada, who came to Suvarṇṇapura in the time of Ānandasthavira. This merchant's testimony has been supported by the envoy from Surat named Sahula Hamida who had come to Suvarṇṇapura. Ānandasthavira then establishes on philological grounds that the place which was known in his day as Mongir was the capital of the Pāla kings, known in earlier days as Mudgagiri.

Ānandas-thavira then goes on to state that statues with hands in the attitude of bearing the yoke, have also been found at Pāṭaliputra. This, he has stated on the authority of Śivaśarmma-paṇḍita, who is recorded to have given his opinion that these statues were found at a place named Puraghaṭṭa, which was in ancient times in the vicinity of Pāṭaliputra, which occupied an area more extensive than the town now called Paṭṭana (Patna), that the four statues found at the site called Puraghaṭṭa were of ancient Magadha kings,that one of them was of King Ajātaśatru, the second of King Candragupta, the third of King Bindusāra and the fourth of King Dharmmāśoka. Śivaśarmma-paṇḍita had identified these images on the evidence of inscriptions carved on their pedestals which he had been able to decipher. The arms of these four statues, it is said, were missing; but from what was left at the fractures, it was reasonable to infer that they were held in the attitude of holding the yoke. It is on this evidence that Ānandasthavira has concluded that the prototype of the Potgul-vehera statue at Polonnaru was a statue of Dharmmāśoka.

Chapter Seven

ESTABLISHMENT OF GREEK POWER IN THE PUNJAB

What Alexander the Great failed to accomplish in India was achieved, about a century and a half after he had departed from that land, by Greek warriors who were not scions of any of the dynasties founded by the generals who shared among themselves the territories which the great conqueror had acquired by his military exploits. Within a few decades of the death of Asoka, a Greek kingdom had been established in the Punjab, and the territories to the west and south of it had also passed under Greek rule. The land of the Five Rivers, the home of the Ṛṣis who first sang the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, consequently came to be known, at least among the Buddhists, as the kingdom of the Yonas (Yavanas).[1] It is unlikely that those who were in possession of these rich territories yielded them without a struggle, and it is due to the caprice of the Muse of History that, while we are in possession of minute details of actions fought by Alexander to gain possession of an insignificant hill or stronghold, we know nothing about the engagements by which Greek leaders of a later date became masters of extensive kingdoms famous in Indian epics and legends—engagements which decided the fate of millions of human beings for several centuries, and which had a profound bearing on religious and cultural developments affecting the course of history not only in India but in many other Asian lands.

The historical writings of the Greeks have preserved to us only the following meagre information about the achievements of the successors of Alexander in India. "The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Appolodorus of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. Those conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalone, but of the kingdom of Saraostos and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni."[2] In this passage, the Yavana princes of the royal house of Bactria are said to have extended their conquests up to Kathiawar in the west (Saraostos Surāṣṭra). The river named Hypanis which they are said to have crossed on the east has been taken to be the same as Hyphasis (Beas), the eastern limit of Alexander's march. But it is clear

1. See Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 163.
2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 489.

from the context that a river not reached by Alexander was meant. We are of opinion that "Hypanis" is the Greek transcript of a vernacular form of "Siprā-nadī", the name of the river on which Ujjayinī was situated. Isamus which they reached on the east appears to be the transcript of a vernacular form of Kusuma (Hisuma), an alternative name of Pāṭaliputra. Sigerdis, which is said to "constitute the remainder of the coast" beyond Kathiawar, appears to be a corruption of *Sahyādri*, the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats.

The clearest reference in Sanskrit literature to the Greeks who ruled in the Punjab is that in the *Yugapurāṇa*, one of the chapters of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*. It is said there that "the viciously valiant Greeks after reducing Sāketa (in Oudh), the Pañchāla country (in the doab between the Jumna and Ganges) and Mathurā (Muttra), reached Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra); but that they did not remain in the Midland Country because of a dreadful war among themselves which broke out in their own country".[3] Two brief sentences illustrating the use of certain verbal forms given in the Sanskrit grammatical work *Mahābhāṣya* refer to the siege by a Yavana prince of the cities of Mādhyamikā and Sāketa, respectively. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, a drama by Kālidāsa, there is reference to a fight between the forces of the Śuṅga king entrusted with the guarding of a horse meant to be sacrificed, and the forces of the Yavana ruler, which took place on the banks of the river Sindhu (Indus).[4]

The preserved Pali literature is more informative about these Greek princes. The dialogues between a Buddhist sage named Nāgasena and a Yona (Yavana) king of Sāgala (Sialkoṭ in the Punjab) named Milinda, are the subject of a Pali book named *Milindapañhā* (Questions of Milinda). At the end of the disputation, the Yona king is said to have been convinced of the truth of the Buddhist doctrines, gave over the kingdom to his son, and himself entered the Buddhist Order.[5] The military prowess and the intellectual endowments of the Yona king are described in glowing terms in the *Milindapañhā*.[6] The book contains reference to a city named Alasandā, which obviously has preserved the name of the Macedonian conqueror.[7] It is not difficult to connect the Pali name Milinda with the Greek Menander, occurring in the extract given above. The adoption of Buddhism by Menander is also suggested by Plutarch.[8] The Pali work *Milindapañhā* was translated into Sinhalese in the middle of the eighteenth

3. Kern, H., *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, p. 37. See also *Cambridge History of India*, p. 491.
4. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 97.
5. *Milindapañhā*, edited by V. Trenckner, RAS, London, 1928, p. 420. T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 373-4.
6. T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV, pp. 6-7.
7. ibid, p. 127.
8. ibid, pp. xixf.

century.[9] This Sinhalese rendering is among the religious treatises that are read to Sinhalese Buddhists who go to temples for religious observances on days of fast. The name of the Greek king Menander in its Pali form is thus known to every Sinhalese Buddhist, be he literate or illiterate.

Alasandā, the city of the Yonas, is also mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the well-known Pali chronicle of Ceylon.[10] A number of Arhats are said to have come to Anurādhapura from that city, to take part in the celebrations connected with the inauguration of the building of the Mahāthūpa by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161-137 B.C.). In the collections of edifying legends known as *Sahassavatthu* and *Rasavāhinī*, Piyaṅgudīpa (a region in the Malay Peninsula) and the Yonakaraṭṭha figure as regions where men were noted, as those in Ceylon, for their faith in Buddhism.[11] In the 30th story of the *Sahassavatthu*, there is mentioned a discussion which took place in Piyaṅgudīpa between Satisambodhi-thera and Mahā-Buddharakkhita-thera, son of the Yonaka king, as to where the people had greater faith in the religion of the Buddha, the Yonaka country or Siṁhala. This story is also found in the *Rasavāhinī*.[12]

There are only two Indian inscriptions, so far discovered, in which the name of a Greek ruler of India has been given.[13] These Greek monarchs of Bactria and the Punjab issued coins in plenty, and many of them are of excellent workmanship. In fact, they constitute the most important archaeological evidence that is available to modern scholars about them. In the hundreds of specimens of coins found in the Punjab and the adjacent countries, have been read the names of thirty-one rulers with Greek names. These coins have been subjected to the minutest scrutiny by numismatists who, on this evidence, have endeavoured to arrange them in some sort of chronological order, and to deduce political data from the devices contained in them.[14] How far these conclusions agree with actuality there is no means of testing, and their acceptance or rejection has been done mainly on the degree of faith that one is prepared to place on the particular scholar who was responsible for them.

Such being the lack of knowledge, or uncertainty at least, about the history of the Greek kingdoms which existed in the Indus region, the information furnished by the documents now brought to light should be welcome to those

9. Godakumbure, *Sinhalese Literature*, p. 54.
10. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chapter xxix, v. 39.
11. *Sahassavatthu*, edited by Buddhadatta Nayakathera, pp. 39-40, *Rasavāhinī*, Colombo, 1959, pt. ii, pp. 72-73.
12. *Sahassavatthu*, op. cit, pp. 56ff. *Rasavāhinī*, op. cit, part ii, pp. 38-9.
13. The inscription on the Besnagar pillar, in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1055-6 and 1910, p. 817. Bagaur Casket Inscription of the reign of Menander, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. xxiv. pp. 1ff.
14. For the Coins of Indo-Greek kings, see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 493ff. and A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta, 1965.

who are genuinely interested in the subject. The author of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, one of the two principal sources of information on the subject, himself spent many years in the Punjab, and had access to the historical documents preserved in the Buddhist monasteries in that region. Buddhism flourished under the rule of these Greek princes; the historical accounts preserved in the centres of that religion therefore may be taken to have been not biased against these foreigners, as the references to them in the Brahmanical sources usually are. The Buddhist histories most probably contained the official versions of events which took place in these kingdoms, or the versions which had the approbation of the Hellenistic court circles.

The account of the Greek kingdoms to the east of Persia given in the *Rvp.* has not itself been met with and deciphered, either in the Old Sinhalese or in the Sanskrit translation; but much of Buddhapriya's account given in his *Yavanarājyavṛttānta*, based on the earlier work, has been read. Buddhapriya has not only given a summary of the account in the *Rvp.*, but also comments on the discrepancies that exist between that account and the information contained in the *Paramparāpustaka*, in which are given biographical sketches of the founders of the Greek power in the Punjab. Buddhapriya's account is given below in toto, even though there will be some repetition when we recount the story of the same events as given in the *Paramparāpustaka*: "King Dhīmitra (Demetrius), the founder of the Kingdom of Pañcanada, was the son of the general, named Yuvasthadhīmat (Euthydemus), of the king of Bāhlikā (Bactria). Yuvasthadhīmat was the son of Appāladatta (Apollodotos), Appāladatta was the son of Appāladatta, Appāladatta was the son of Appāladatta, Appāladatta was one among the army commanders of Alakṣandara the Great. Yuvasthadhīmat, having been the general of the Bāhlika king named Strātava, rendered assistance to King Strātava to conquer the Pañcanada kingdom, wedded the daughter of King Strātava, begot a son named Dhīmitra and died in due course. Strātava, son of King Strātava, having succeeded to the Bāhlīka kingdom, gave the Pañcanada kingdom to the son of his sister (Dhīmitra), and stationed him there. Dhīmitra conquered, from the kingdom of Pañcanada, the Sindhu kingdom, the Mālava kingdom, the Suvarṇnakuḍya kingdom, the Gandhāra kingdom, the Takṣaśilā kingdom and the Māhiṣmata kingdom. He converted the Pañcanada kingdom into an empire, and sent a message to King Strātava, repudiating (the promise) to remain in subjection to the Bāhlīka kingdom. King Strātava, being rejoiced at the achievement of victory by the son of his sister, sent a message making the kingdom of Pañcanada an independent kingdom. King Dhīmitra, having received that message, sent his uncle, King Strātava, a return message conferring on the latter the rank of a general of the kingdom of Pañcanada. King Strātava, having received that message, was much enraged, and advanced

to the Pañcanada kingdom so as to wage war, but was defeated in the battle he fought with King Dhīmitra, retreated to his own kingdom and died in course of time. Dhīmitra received anointment in the kingdom of Pañcanada, reigned for twenty-seven years, and died in due course. King Dhīmitra attained to the sovereignty in the year Three-hundred and forty-seven of the Buddhist era. The Buddhist era that prevailed in the Pañcanada kingdom was in excess of six hundred and twenty-three over the Śaka era. Thus it has been related in the *Paramparāpustka*.

"King Dhīmitra, having received consecration in the sovereignty of Pañcanada, sent a message to the Maurya King, Bṛhadratha, intimating (the latter) of his consecration. Tuṣāspa, the general of King Bṛhadratha, waged war with King Dhīmitra, and was defeated. He sent a message to King Bṛhadratha, recommending to him to make peace. King Bṛhadratha gave his daughter, Sundarī in marriage to him (Dhīmitra), himself married his (Dhīmitra's) daughter, Suvarṇṇākṣī, and thus made peace. He (Bṛhadratha) was slain by his own general, Subrahmā (who later became) the Śuṅga king. Thus it has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*: It has further been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that after King Dharmmaśoka of the Maurya dynasty, Daśaratha attained to the sovereignty, after him King Subāhu attained to the sovereignty and King Bṛhadratha attained to the sovereignty after him. The chronology of the Maurya dynasty is twenty-seven years of King Candragupta, thirty-five years of King Amitraghāta, forty-seven years of King Dharmmāśoka, five years of King Daśaratha, seventeen years of King Subāhu and five years of King Bṛhadratha. Thus it has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*. It has also been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that the period of the Maurya dynasty was one hundred and fifty-five years. In accordance with this, it is reasonable to assign thirty-seven years to Candragupta and forty-four years to Amitraghāta.

"It has been narrated in the *Parampārapustaka*," continues Buddhapriya, "that King Dhīmitra, the founder of the Yavana kingdom in the Pañcanada country, was the son of the sister of the King of Bāhlīka (Bactria) named Strātava, that he being in the position of Viceroy (Yuvarāja) of the Pañcanada country, conquered the Sindhu kingdom, the Sauvīra kingdom, the Mādhyamika kingdom, the Takṣaśilā kingdom, and the Gandhāra kingdom, and sent a message to his uncle conferring (on the latter) the dignity of a general in his empire, and that the uncle came to wage war with his nephew, but was defeated and returned to his own country where he died (in due course). (On the other hand), it has been narrated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that the king named Dhīmitra was the son of King Yuvasthadhīmat who reigned there, having made the Bāhlīka kingdom an independent kingdom, also conquered the Pañcanada country, that Dhīmitra, having been in the position of Commander-in-chief of his father, conquered the

Pañcanada kingodm. The *Paramparāpustaka* was composed one thousand three hundred and seventy-five years after the year in which the Yavana kingdom in the Pañcanada country was established. The *Rājavaṁśapustaka* was composed five hundred and thirty-eight years after the year in which the Yavana kingdom in the Pañcanada country was established. Therefore, the statement in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* should be accepted; the statement in the *Paramparāpustaka* (on this matter) should be rejected."

"It has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that Dhīmitra was the nephew (sister's son, or son-in-law) of King Anantayogya of the Suriya kingdom (Syria), and that, having wedded his (King Anantayogya's) daughter, Suvarṇṇākṣī, acted as intermediary and brought about a treaty of peace between the Suriya king who, having arrived in the Bāhlīka kingdom, and waged war with Yuvasthadhīmat,[15] was unable to defeat him, and Yuvasthadhīmat. It has been stated by Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, that it has been narrated in the same manner (as in the *Rvp.*) in the Yavana books. Of the two accounts, the one given in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* and the other given in the *Paramparāpustaka*, the account given in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* should be accepted; such is the verdict of Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant.[16]"

"The name of King Dhīmitra does not appear in the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa*. In the *Mahāvaṁśa*, the name even of the Pañcanada kingdom has not come down. The name Devamantrī has come down in the *Milindapraśna*. It has been stated by Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, that the name 'Devamantrī' is an equivalent of the name Dhīmitra.[17] It appears as if the opinion of the Rūma merchant is the truth; but it is given in the *Milindapraśna* that Devamantrī was a Minister of King Milinda. Therefore, even though the name Devamantrī is the equivalent of the name Dhīmitra, it is reasonable to conclude that Devamantrī referred to in the *Milindapraśna* was a personage different from King Dhīmitra.

It has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that the *Milindapraśna* is a book composed in the Pañcanada kingdom. It has also been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that only the first seven questions are found in the book (*Milindapraśna*) obtainable in the Pañcanada kingdom, and that the remaining questions have been composed by some one in Siṁhaladvīpa. It has also been stated in the continuation of *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa* that only the first seven questions of the *Milindapraśna* are genuine, and that the rest have been composed by some one in Siṁhaladvīpa.

It has been stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that Dhīmitra received anointment in the sovereignty of Pañcanada in the year Three Hundred and Fifty of the

15. According to information given elsewhere, the king of Bactria with whom Anantayogya waged war was Diodotos (Divyadyota) I whose family was founded by a Yuvasthadhīmat (Euthydemus).
16. For the information given in Greek books, see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 399ff.
17. Modern scholars are of the same opinion as the Rūma merchant. See *Questions of King Menander*, op. cit, part i, p. xix.

Buddhist era, and reigned for twenty-seven years, and that the Buddhist era of the Pañcanada country was six hundred and twenty three-years in excess of the Śaka era. The (statement in the) *Rājavaṁśapustaka* is worthy of credence. It is stated by Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, that the year of the inauguration of the reign of Dhīmitra is not available in Yavana books. It has been further stated by Alakṣandara, the Rūma merchant, that it was possible that the historical books current in the Pañcanada kingdom were not available to the compilers of historical works in Greece (Paramayavanas), and that it is possible to accept the existence of a historical work that was current in the Pañcanada country in the possession of Mahā-Buddharakṣita-sthavira who composed his own book after returning to his own country, having sojourned for fifteen years in the Pañcanada country. The opinion of the Rūma merchant has also been accepted by Rājasundara-paṇḍita. The opinion of Rājasundara-paṇḍita is that a historical work formerly current in the Pañcanada country was brought with him by Mahā-Buddharakṣita when he returned after fifteen years spent in the Pañcanada country. Therefore, the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* deserves credence.''

Having thus recounted what the *Yrv.* has to say about the establishment of Greek power in the Punjab, we now proceed to give, as far as possible, a literal translation of the account of the same event forthcoming in the *Paramparāpustaka*. In this source, the history is given in the form of two biographical narratives of the two personages, father and son, to whom is due the credit for the accomplishment of what the more famous Greek conqueror failed to achieve. According to the *Paramparāpustaka* also, the first Greek king of the Punjab was Dhīmitra (Demetrius), but his achievements were made possible by the victories gained by his father Yuvasthadhīmat (Euthydemus), about whom Bhadrasthavira has given information that is not available in any other author, Indian or Greek. Though Yuvasthadhīmat remained to the end a loyal military officer of the Bāhlīka king, it was the sagacity displayed by him in grasping the opportunities that presented themselves for the expansion of the Yavana power in the conditions that prevailed in the Maurya empire after the death of Asoka, and his ability as a military leader, that led to events which changed the course of history in the Indian sub-continent. He therefore deserves the recognition accorded him by Bhadra by devoting a chapter to his life and deeds in his voluminous treatise. From this point, we give the translation of the account in the *Paramparāpustaka*:

''Yuvasthadhīmat,'' begins Bhadrasthavira, ''was the son of Appāladatta; (Apollodotus); Appāladatta was the son of Appāladatta; Appāladatta was the son of Appāladatta; Appāladatta was one of the Commanders of King Alakṣandara.

''Appāladatta, the father of Yuvasthadhīmat, having been a military commander of King Calukya the Second (Seleucus II) of the Suriya kingdom (Syria), lost his life in the Egyptian war. Yuvasthadhīmat, having wedded Suvarṇṇākṣī, the daughter of King Anantayogya (Antiochus) of the Suriya kingdom, and received the office of general of the Suriya kingdom, proceeded with Anantayogya to the Bāhlīka kingdom to wage war with King Strātava, who had made the Bāhlīka kingdom independent. King Anantayogya having been unable to defeat King Strātava, even though he had besieged Balakṣapura (Balkh) for two years, on starting to return to his own country, sent Yuvasthadhīmat to King Strātava to inquire whether it was possible to enter into a treaty of friendship with King Anantayogya and return home.

''King Strātava, having seen Yuvasthadhīmat, was exceedingly pleased with him, and accepted the proposition made by King Anantayogya, and said that he was willing to give Yuvasthadhīmat his daughter, together with the office of general of the Bāhlīka kingdom. Yuvasthadhīmat replied that he was married to the daughter of King Anantayogya. King Strātava stated further that he had received news of the death of the daughter of King Anantayogya five months before; and inquired whether, if that news were to prove true, it was possible to give an undertaking to accept his proposition. Yuvasthadhīmat, having heard that his wife was dead, arrived at a state of great mental agitation, remained unable to speak anything, returned to the presence of King Anantayogya, stated that King Strātava was willing to contract a treaty of friendship, and started weeping. King Anantayogya, having known the reason for the weeping of Yuvasthadhīmat, stated that he himself had received news of the death of his daughter, and consoled him saying that the decision to return to his own country was arrived at precisely for that reason. Yuvasthadhīmat returned to the Suriya kingdom, attended to matters arising from the death of his wife, and having received the sanction of King Anantayogya to wed the daughter of King Strātava and to accept the office of general of the Bāhlīka kingdom, arrived in the Bāhlīka kingdom, married the daughter of King Strātava and remained there, having received the office of general of the Bāhlīka kingdom.

''While Yuvasthadhīmat was remaining in the Bāhlīka kingdom, King Dharmmāśoka died in the city of Pāṭaliputra. Tīvara, the son of the second queen of King Dharmmāśoka, seized the sovereignty, and despatched a general to the city of Takṣaśilā, ordering him either to capture and bring to Pāṭaliputra, or to slay Kunāla, the son of the first queen of King Dharmmāśoka who was administering the viceroyalty, and was residing at the city of Takṣaśilā. Kunāla, having decided that it was not possible, with his army, to wage war with, and to defeat the army of the general who had come from Pāṭaliputra, retired to a mountain fastness with his own army. From there he sent a message to Yuvasthadhīmat, giving an undertaking to cede to him the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya, should he render him assistance to capture the sovereignty in the city of Pāṭaliputra.

Yuvasthadhīmat, having obtained the sanction of the king of Bāhlīka for the purpose, arrived at the city of Takṣaśilā with the army of the Bāhlīka kingdom, waged war with the general who had come from Pāṭaliputra, defeated him and ordered him to take the side of Kunāla. The general who had come from Pāṭaliputra gave an undertaking to take the side of Kunāla and to remain loyal to him. Yuvasthadhīmat arrived at Pāṭaliputra with the army of the general who had come to Takṣaśilā from Pāṭaliputra. The army of Kunāla and the army of the Bāhlīka kingdom, fought with the army of Tīvara, defeated him, captured the kingdom of Magadha and bestowed it on Kunāla. He then arrived with his army in the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya and proceeded to take possession of that territory; but the general who was stationed in Suvarṇṇakuḍya by Kunāla informed him that a message had been sent to him (the general) by Kunāla, saying that Yuvasthadhīmat should not be allowed to take possession of the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom and began fighting with Yuvasthadhīmat. Having fought with that general and defeated him, Yuvasthadhīmat took possession of the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, and sent a message to King Kunāla, informing him of what took place. King Kunāla sent a message in reply stating that he had not given an undertaking to cede the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom to Yuvasthadhīmat, that the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom seized by Yuvasthadhīmat should be handed back to his general, and if it was not handed back accordingly, he had decided to come himself to capture the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, and to slay Yuvasthadhīmat. Having received that message, Yuvasthadhīmat sent a second message (stating) that he was expecting the arrival of King Kunāla.

"In the meantime King Kunāla, having heard that the Chief of the Muruṇḍa people in the Takṣaśilā kingdom had declared himself as an opponent of King Kunāla, arrived at the city of Takṣaśilā accompanied by the forces of the Magadha kingdom. The Muruṇḍa Chief, having decided that it was not possible to fight with the forces of the Magadha kingdom with his own army, arrived at a mountain stronghold, and took his stand there.

"King Kunāla, with his army, began marching towards the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya, in order to capture the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya. The Muruṇḍa Chief, having heard of this, came with his army from the mountain fastness, took position obstructing the road along which King Kunāla was marching, fought with the army of King Kunāla and captured King Kunāla and his army. Yuvasthadhīmat, having heard that King Kunāla had been captured by the Muruṇḍa Chief, advanced with his own army, fought with the Muruṇḍa Chief, defeated him and released King Kunāla and his army (from the captivity of the Muruṇḍa Chief), but informed King Kunāla that the latter and his army were his captives. King Kunāla had himself and his army set free by ceding to Yuvasthadhīmat the kingdom of Takṣaśilā, the kingdom of Gandhāra

and the kingdom of Suvāstu, and by giving an undertaking to give him (Yuvasthadhīmat) his daughter Sundarī, and returned to Pāṭaliputra. After having administered the sovereignty for five years, he was caused to be slain by Daśaratha, son of Tīvara. Daśaratha, having received the consecration in the sovereignty of Magadha at the city of Pāṭaliputra, renounced the Buddhist religion and accepted the religion of the Brāhmaṇas. While he was administering the sovereignty, he heard that the kingdom of Pañcanada had been captured by Yuvasthadhīmat, and advanced to the kingdom of Pañcanada with a great host, waged war with Yuvasthadhīmat, and was defeated. He returned to the city of Pāṭaliputra and, after having reigned for seven years, was caused to be slain by Bṛhadratha, son of King Kunāla.

"Yuvasthadhīmat kept the kingdom of Pañcanada for himself as his viceroyalty, placed the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya, the kingdom of Gandhāra, the kingdom of Suvāstu and the kingdom of Takṣaśilā under subjection to the kingdom of Bāhlīka, gave the (government of) the Pañcanada kingdom to his brother Yuvakratudha (Eucratides), himself arrived back in the kingdom of Bāhlīka, and died while remaining as the general of King Strātava. Yuvakratudha died five years before the death of Yuvasthadhīmat and the kingdom of Pañcanada was received by Dhīmitra, the son of Yuvasthadhīmat. Thus it has been stated in some copies of the *Paramparāpustaka*. This statement may be accepted."

DHĪMITRA (DEMETRIUS), THE FOUNDER OF THE GREEK KINGDOM IN THE PUNJAB

The next chapter (the ninth) of the *Paramparāpustaka* recounts the history of Dhīmitra (Demetrius), the founder of the Greek kingdom of the Punjab, a distant echo of whose fame is heard in the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer. Buddhapriya, in his *Yrv.*, has given much of the contents of this chapter, and these extracts from the *Yrv.* have been given in the earlier part of this chapter. The full translation of the account of Dhīmitra, as given in the ninth chapter of *Pp.*, is given below.

"King Dhīmitra, the founder of the Pañcanada kingdom, was the son of Yuvasthadhīmat. . . . .[18] Yuvasthadhīmat having been the general of the Bāhlīka king named Strātava, rendered assistance to King Strātava to conquer the kingdom of Pañcanada, wedded the daughter of King Strātava, begot a son named Dhīmitra and died in due course. Strātava (the Second), son of Strātava (the First), having attained to the Sovereignty of Bāhlīka, gave the viceroyalty of the Pañcanada kingdom to Dhīmitra, the son of his sister, and stationed him there. Dhīmitra, while being in the Pañcanada

18. The rest of the genealogy is as given on p. 80.

kingdom, conquered the Sindhu kingdom, the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, the Gandhāra kingdom and the Māhiṣmata kingdom, and sent a message to King Strātava renouncing the undertaking to be subject to the Bāhlīka kingdom. King Strātava, rejoicing at the achievement of victory by his sister's son, sent a message making the Pañcanada kingdom an independent kingdom. Dhīmitra sent a second message bestowing on King Strātava the office of a general of the Pañcanada Empire. King Strātava was exceedingly enraged on receiving that message, and invaded the Pañcanada kingdom with his army, waged war with King Dhīmitra and was defeated. He returned to his own kingdom, and died in due course. Dhīmitra who received anointment in the sovereignty of the Pañcanada kingdom in the year Three hundred and forty-seven of the Buddhist era, had sent a message to the Maurya King Bṛhadratha, informing (the latter) of his anointment. King Bṛhadratha despatched his general Tuṣāspa to the Pañcanada kingdom to wage war with King Dhīmitra. Tuṣāspa, the general of King Bṛhadratha, waged war with King Dhīmitra and was defeated. He sent a message to King Bṛhadratha, advising him to make peace with King Dhīmitra. King Bṛhadratha gave his daughter Sundarī to King Dhīmitra, himself wedded Suvarṇṇākṣī, the daughter of King Dhīmitra, and contracted a treaty of alliance. He was caused to be slain by the Śuṅga Brāhmaṇa named Subrahmā, general of the Magadha kingdom.

"At the time, when the Śuṅga Brāhmaṇa named Subrahmā had obtained the Magadha kingdom, Agnimitra, his son, arrived in the Sindhu kingdom, waged war with the general of King Dhīmitra, who was stationed there, and captured the Sindhu kingdom. He arrived in the Pañcanada kingdom to capture the Pañcanada kingdom also, but was defeated by King Dhīmitra, returned to Pāṭaliputra and remained there.

"King Śuṅga himself arrived in the Sindhu kingdom, and together with the army that was there, and his own, arrived in the Mālava kingdom, waged war with the general of King Dhīmitra who was stationed there, defeated him and captured the Mālava kingdom. Then he arrived in the Māhiṣmata kingdom, waged war with the general of King Dhīmitra who was stationed there, defeated him and captured the Māhiṣmata kingdom. Thereafter, he arrived in the Paṇḍarapura kingdom, waged war with the general of King Dhīmitra who was stationed there, defeated him, and captured the Paṇḍarapura kingdom. Then, having started to march against the Pañcanada kingdom in order to capture the Pañcanada kingdom also, he sent a message to King Dhīmitra, ordering the latter to hand over to himself all the kingdoms that were subject to the Maurya empire, and stating that if they were not handed over in that manner, he was on the march himself to come and capture those kingdoms, and to have Dhīmitra slain. King Dhīmitra sent a message in reply to King Śuṅga, stating that he had him-

self espoused the daughter of King Bṛhadratha; therefore, he was the Master of the Maurya Empire, and that he was on his way to arrive at the city of Pāṭaliputra, and re-establish the Maurya Empire, after having slain him who had caused King Bṛhadratha to be slain, and seized the Maurya Empire by force. King Dhīmitra arrived at Madhurā-pura in order to advance to the city of Pāṭaliputra, and was there defeated by King Śuṅga. He marched back to the city of Sāgala and remained there.

"King Śuṅga also, unable to reach the city of Sāgala, marched back to Pāṭaliputra and remained there. King Śuṅga, being in the city of Madhurā, making preparations to march on the city of Sāgala, heard that King Śātakarṇi had started to march on the city of Pāṭaliputra, and returned to Pāṭaliputra.

"King Dhīmitra, having administered the kingdom in the city of Sāgala, anointed his son Mayanendra in the viceroyalty in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and departed to the other world in the twenty-seventh year of his own reign."

We do not intend to discuss here at length the divergences in these narratives, between the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* and the *Paramparāpustaka*, on the one hand, and between these sources and the references in the classical historians to the Greek princes of the Punjab on the other. It has been recorded by an annotator of the Kōṭṭe period that, in some manuscripts of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, the account of Dhīmitra has been given in conformity with the *Paramparāpustaka*, and that this account had been altered by Buddhapriya-sthavira in accordance with what he learnt from the Greek sources. This is not impossible; but on the other hand, it is not also impossible that the manuscript of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* noticed by the fifteenth century annotator had been altered to conform to the *Paramparāpustaka*. We therefore take that when the sources for the history of the Greeks in the Punjab which existed in ancient Ceylon, are compared with the classical sources, the discrepancy lies between the latter and the *Paramparāpustaka*.

Apart from the account in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* being in accord with the classical authorities dealing with the subject, Buddhapriya gives another reason for preferring the account in that work to that given in the *Paramparāpustaka*. He argues that the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* was written at a time that was much closer to the date of the event than was the *Paramparāpustaka*. This argument, very probably, will be endorsed even by historians of the present day; but we feel that too much importance has been attached by Buddhapriya to the fact that the former work is earlier in date than the latter. It is not impossible that, even in the time of Mahā-Buddharakṣita, which was about three centuries after the Greek power had been swept away from the Punjab, there were differing versions with regard to the origin of Demetrius (Dhīmitra), and that he followed the version that was removed from the reality. Sthaviras from Ceylon of the

Mahāvihāra as well as of the Abhayagiri, did probably travel to the Punjab and even beyond, and stayed there for some time. Some of these could have brought with them a knowledge about the history of the Greek princes of the Punjab, either as written documents, or stored in their memories; and accounts based on them, written before the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, were preserved in the Abhayagiri-vihāra, and were available to Bhadrasthavira and utilized in his *Paramparāpustaka*. The *Rājavaṁśapustaka* was known to Bhadrasthavira; he would not have deviated from it unless he had good reason to do so.

The classical historian, who in this case was Strabo, quoting from a history of Parthia, now lost, by Appolodorus of Arthemia, agrees with the author of the *Paramparāpustaka* in stating that the father of Demetrius (Dhīmitra) was named Euthydemus (Yuvasthadhimat); but according to the former, this Euthydemus was a king of Bactria, while the latter makes him the Commander-in-Chief of that kingdom, who was himself a son-in-law of the king of Bactria. According to another classical source, Demetrius was sent by his father to the camp of Antiochus II, who was besieging the Bactrian capital, to negotiate peace. Antiochus was so impressed by the noble bearing, the royal demeanour and the handsome appearance of Demetrius, that he not only agreed to make peace with the Bactrian king, but offered the young prince the hand of his daughter in marriage.[19] According to the *Paramparāpustaka*, it was Yuvasthadhīmat, the father of Dhīmitra, who negotiated peace between the Bactrian king and his erstwhile overlord, the Seleucid emperor Anantayogya (Antiochus). According to the classical source, it was the king of Bactria who sued for peace, while the *Paramparāpustaka* has it that the Syrian emperor took the initiative for the negotiations. According to the classical source, the son-in-law of Antiochus II was the son of Euthydemus; the Buddhist author of the twelfth century has it that Euthydemus was the son-in-law at first of Antiochus (Anantayogya); later, when his first wife died, he married a daughter of the Bactrian king, and thus became the latter's son-in-law.

It will thus be seen that the two accounts, though varying in details, refer to an account of negotiations for peace between the Seleucid emperor and his former vassal, the king of Bactria. The classical account has narrated the event to be as flattering as possible to the Syrian monarch. This is quite natural. The Syrian monarch was closer to Greece than was the ruler of Bactria, and there might have been ways and means for the historian who had originally recorded these facts, to benefit from the goodwill of that potentate. Therefore, even if the Seleucid emperor was driven to sue for peace from his erstwhile vassal, the historian in question would have put this in a manner that was least unpalatable to that potentate. The historians in the Punjab and the writers in Ceylon who

19. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 397.

derived material from them, had no necessity to deviate from the truth, if the negotiations for peace were conducted on the initiative of the Seleucid emperor. On the other hand, if it was the Bactrian ruler who sued for peace, they on their part, would have so shaped the narrative as to be flattering to the founder of the Yavana kingdom of Pañcanada and his father.

The account of the war between Antiochus II and the Bactrian ruler is given in a work, the primary purpose of which was to give the history of Parthia; the events and personalities connected with Bactria would have been only of secondary interest to its author. It is therefore possible that Appolodorus of Artemia did not verify the accuracy of these facts before he recorded them. That work itself is now lost; we are therefore unable to ascertain whether any error could have arisen when Strabo quoted from it. One should not therefore be prejudiced against the *Paramparāpustaka* on the ground of its deviation from the classical author in some respects.

According to the *Paramparāpustaka*, Bactria was made an independent kingdom by a prince named Strātava. This name appears to be the same as "Strato" in Greek. A Bactrian king of this name is not known from other sources. According to the information furnished by classical writers, it has been inferred that Bactria was made an independent kingdom by Diodotus, who at first was a satrap under the Seleucid emperor. He was succeeded by his son of the same name. "Strātava" of the *Paramparāpustaka* was quite possibly the form which the Greek title "Strategos", borne by the Commander-in-Chief of the army, had assumed in the local language, and had passed into Sanskrit. The satrap was also the Commander-in-Chief. To the local populace, he was for all intents and purposes, a king. The Strategos of the Seleucid monarch could therefore have been called Strātavarāja by the inhabitants of the Mauryan provinces close to the Bactrian kingdom; and the name became established in Indian tradition. The statement in the classical sources that King Euthydemus of Bactria had supplanted the satrap of the Seleucid emperor who had first declared Bactria's independence of Syria, finds an echo in the story in the *Paramparāpustaka* of Dhīmitra (Demetrius), son of Yuvasthadhīmat (Euthydemus), insulting King Strātava II by offering him the office of a Senāpati of the Pañcanada kingdom.

The account of the circumstances which led to the conquest by Yuvasthadhīmat (Euthydemus) of the western provinces of the Maurya empire, including Pañcanada, as given in the *Paramparāpustaka*, is not corroborated by any other source. But it cannot be rejected for that reason. The Indian writers as well as the historians of Greece and Rome, have not left us any account of what happened after the death of Asoka, and how the Greek princes became masters of the territories on either side of the river Indus.

The capture of Kunāla, a great-grandson of Candragupta, by the Bactrian

general, reads like a repetition of history in the reverse direction. It is possible for one to say that Candragupta, by allowing Seleucus Nicator to retain possession of Bactria in return for the hand of the Greek potentate's daughter, permitted to remain in the west, a threat to the empire he founded, and that ultimately Bactria proved to be the undoing of what he accomplished. But who can say whether the Maurya Empire would not have come to an end much earlier than it actually did, if there was no Bactria to act as a buffer between the Āryāvarta and the hordes of Śaka horsemen from Central Asia.

It has been given in the *Yrv.* that the ruler who declared the independence of Bactria was King Strātava (Diodotus). But the *Rvp.*, on which the *Yrv.* is based, has given an account of an earlier attempt, of which the success was only temporary, made by a Satrap of Bactria to break away from the Seleucid empire. This account, which has not been given by Buddhapriya, as it had no direct bearing on the history of the Greek kingdom in the Punjab, has also been indited on earlier inscriptions by the order of Parākramabāhu VI. A translation of that account, given below, throws welcome light on the identity of two mysterious characters of Indo-Greek history, whose names have hitherto been known solely from their coins—namely Sophytes and Antimachos Theos:

"A prince born of the Ātreyagotra,[20] by name Subhūti, who resided in the Suvarṇṇakuḍya[21] kingdom, gave his daughter to King Alexander. She had a son from the Yavana king. That son's name was Saubhūti. Having come of age, Saubhūti brought the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom under his authority and, for seven years, ruled the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom in opposition to King Candragupta. Having waged war with the general of King Candragupta and being defeated, he (Saubhūti), with his retinue, proceeded to the Suriya kingdom (Syria), gave an undertaking on oath to remain in subjection to Calukya Nikatora (Seleucus Nicator), who was reigning there, obtained the position of a general in the Suriya kingdom, remained (there) and died (in due course). His (Saubhūti's) son also became a general of the Suriya kingdom and died (in due course). His son also became a general of the Suriya kingdom and died (in due course).

"His son, Ātreyīmātṛka by name,[22] gave a pledge on oath to remain in subjection to King Anantayogya (Antiochus) of the Suriya kingdom, received the

20. 'Ātreya' was the name of a Brāhmaṇa gotra. The name, however, could have been adopted as the gotra name by a clan of Kṣatriyas, who had a *guru* of the Ātreyagotra. The adoption by the Śākyas of the gotra of their teacher, Gautama, is an analogous instance.

21. See above, page 37.

22. The name denotes a person whose mother was of the Ātreyagotra. Possibly, Ātreyīmātṛka's mother was the daughter of a descendant of a person of the Ātreyagotra who accompanied Saubhūti to exile in Syria. Saubhūti himself being the son of a princess who was the daughter of a scion of the Ātreyagotra, could have had the matronymic of Ātreyīmātṛka which was adopted by his descendants, including the hero of this account.

position of satrap of the Bāhlīka kingdom, proceeded to the Bāhlīka kingdom, and was administering the government there as satrap. Stating that he was a scion of the Yavana royal house, and that, therefore, it was not proper for him to remain in subjection to a descendant of Calukya Nikatora, he proclaimed the Bāhlīka kingdom to be an independent State and, being the ruler of the Bāhlīka kingdom, he proceeded to conquer the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom and waged war with Sūryadvāra (Antialcidas)[23] who was the satrap there. Being defeated, he returned to the Bāhlīka kingdom and remained there, ruling the Bāhlīka kingdom.

"King Anantayogya sent General Divyadyota (Diodotus) to wage war with him. Ātreyīmātṛka, having waged war with General Divyadyota, was defeated and retreated to the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom. Having waged war with the general who was there and being defeated, he went to the Sārasvata[24] kingdom and remained there.

"When he was staying there, General Divyadyota himself became independent and having come to know that the people of the Bāhlīka kingdom were planning to set up in the sovereignty, one who was born of royal lineage, proclaimed that he was himself ruling in the name of Ātreyīmātṛka, and gave the two names, that is, of Ātreyīmātṛka and the name of Yuvasthadhīmat (Euthydemus), the founder of his family, on the coins that he struck."

With regard to the contents of the passage translated above, we may comment that the Prakrit form of the name given in a Sanskrit garb as 'Ātreyīmātṛka' when pronounced by non-Indian people, could have approximated in sound to the Greek name "Antimachos". We, therefore, propose the identification of Ātreyīmātṛka of the above passage with Antimachos Theos. Ātreyīmātṛka claimed descent from Alexander the Great. Divine status, therefore, could have also been claimed by him as his birthright.

23. For this Śuryadvāra (Antialcidas) see above, p. 25.

24. This is the Sanskrit name of the region called Arachosia in Greek writings.

Chapter Eight

MENANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Dhīmitra (Demetrius), in the closing years of his reign, must have been sobered by the experience of one reverse after the other. If he had formed any ideas about the invincibility of his Yavana spearmen when they were pitched against Indian forces, for which there was justification in the success which attended the military actions of his earlier years, the series of reverses which deprived him of the fruits of the exploits of his youthful years, must have obliged him to revise his opinions. For the results of his encounters with the forces of a resurgent Indian nationalism were quite different from the easy victories that he had gained at the expense of the decadent Maurya imperialism. All the territories that he and his father before him, had acquired to the south of the Punjab had been wrested from him, and his threat to mete out justice to the slayer of the last Maurya emperor at Pāṭaliputra, proved to be a vain one. He must have also realized that the closer he advanced to the heart of the Magadhan empire, the more difficult it was to overcome Indian resistance. He also must have been conscious that it was suicidal to advance far into the heart of the enemy's terrain, without leaving sufficient forces to protect his own kingdom of Pañcanada against an enemy who would have desired to take advantage of the circumstances. For he had given offence to his benefactors and kinsmen of Bactria, and though the Bactrian king who had invaded the Punjab to wipe out the disgrace of the gratuitous insult, had been driven away years before, he himself or his successor might not have forgotten the episode, and the reverses suffered by Dhīmitra would have been the opportunity that he had waited for. Dhīmitra himself must have repented the unnecessary waste of his military potential by fighting against his own uncle, owing to the gratuitous insult that he offered him. For those men who fell in the fight with the Bactrian king, if they were available in the encounters with the forces of the Śuṅga monarch, might have affected the outcome to his advantage. On the whole, Dhīmitra, in the waning years of his life, was on the defensive, licking his wounds, and would have been satisfied with warding off enemies from the Punjab, and the territories dependent upon it to the west.

The initial successes which attended the arms of the first Śuṅga monarch and his son Agnimitra, in their encounters with the representatives of Dhīmitra in Sindhu, Mālava and other territories, until they arrived on the frontiers of the Punjab, must have given him visions of restoring the frontiers of his dominions to what Candragupta's empire were in the west. Hence the peremptory order sent by the Śuṅga monarch to Dhīmitra to surrender the territories

that he had seized. But Punjab proved to be a different proposition from the Sindhu or Mālava country, and his armies were unable to reach Sāgala, the capital of Dhīmitra. While he was involved with the Yavanas, the territorial magnates of the Maurya empire in the deep south, were themselves scheming to carve out kingdoms from the ruins of that empire, and were in no way prepared to transfer to the Śuṅga the allegiance which they had owed to the Maurya. The Brāhmaṇa upstart had to give up the struggle against the Yavana antagonist, when information reached him that Śātakarṇi, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty, which secured for itself the dominion over the Deccan, was on the march with Pāṭaliputra as his objective. The Śuṅga, presumably, was able to check the adventurer from the Deccan, but as he had to guard his southern frontier from further military threats from Śātakarṇi, he could not devote his whole energies and the entirety of his armed strength, in the attempt to liberate the land from the foreign invader. The military position had thus been reduced to a stalemate, and before any advantage of a decisive nature arose for one side in the struggle, for hostilities to have been started afresh, death seems to have claimed the leaders on both sides. The reign of the first Śuṅga ruler and that of the founder of the Greek kingdom in the Punjab appear to have come to a close within a short interval from one another.

The first Śuṅga monarch, whose personal name as given in the Brahmanical sources, Puṣyamitra, does not occur in our documents, was succeeded by his son Agnimitra who, as we have seen, assisted his father as a military commander in the field. Dhīmitra was succeeded by his son, Mayanendra, who had already been collaborating with his father as his *yuvarāja* and, it may be presumed, took part in the campaigns which checked the advance of the Śuṅga armies. It is not difficult to perceive that "Mayanendra" is the Sanskritized form of the Greek name "Menander" which in Pali has assumed the form of "Milinda".

The two personages who about the same time came to be leaders of the rival forces that were contending to supplant the Mauryas in the imperial authority, have both the distinction of being referred to in Indian literature. Agnimitra is the hero of one of the three well-known dramas of Kālidāsa—the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, i.e., "Mālavikā and Agnimitra." Though the plot in this play moves around an episode of love in the royal harem, there are incidental references in it to political events. The reference to the Śuṅga's relations with the ruler of Vidarbha does not concern us here; but the episode referred to in the play, in which Agnimitra's son, Vasumitra, who was sent in command of the forces entrusted with the guarding of the horse intended for Puṣyamitra's Aśvamedha, came in conflict, on the banks of the Indus, with a company of Yavana soldiers and vanquished them, agrees with our sources in general with regard to the hostility

between the Śuṅgas and the Yavanas.[1] This action is said to have taken place while Puṣyamitra was still holding the reins of the government in his own hand. As Agnimitra had already a son old enough to take part in a military action in the latter part of his father's reign, he must have been of mature years when he assumed sole responsibility for the administration himself.

The Pali work *Milindapañhā*, "Questions of Milinda," is even less concerned with political matters than the drama of Kālidāsa which refers to Agnimitra. In it Milinda (Menander) figures as a disputant on religious and philosophical matters. He was in the habit of asking inconvenient questions from members of the Buddhist Saṅgha who were in his dominions, or who visited it. King Milinda, it is said, was such a clever debater that there was, for many years, no Buddhist teacher who could prevail with him in argument. They were so humiliated by him that Bhikkhus who were living in his dominions went elsewhere, and those from other regions gave his capital of Sāgala a wide berth. The position became so serious for the Saṅgha that corporate action was taken to find a teacher who was agile enough in intellect to conduct a disputation with King Milinda. A suitable person was at last found in the person of Nāgasena, who was of Brāhmaṇa birth, but had adopted the Buddhist religious life, and acquired proficiency in the doctrine of that faith as well as ability in debate. A meeting between the Greek ruler and the Indian champion of Buddhism was contrived, and in the discussions which ensued, Nāgasena was able to give replies to the questions put by Milinda so as to satisfy him completely. At the end of the discussion which lasted for several days, Milinda was so convinced of the truth of the Buddhist doctrine, that he relinquished his royal burdens in favour of his eldest son, and himself entered the Buddhist religious order.[2]

Unlike the Brahmanical writings, which refer to the Yavanas as barbarians, the *Milindapañhā* refers to Milinda and his entourage as persons who were in no way inferior in intellectual attainments and way of life to the Kṣatriyas of India. Though nothing is given about the descent or career of King Milinda in this Pali work, a glowing description of the Greek monarch is given in general terms:

"The king of the city of Sāgala in India, Milinda by name, was learned, eloquent, wise and able; and a faithful observer, and that at the right time, of all the various acts of devotion and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come. Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy traditions and secular laws, the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy, arithmetic, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, and the Itihāsas, astronomy, magic, logic and spells; the art of war,

1. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 96-7.
2. *Milindapañhā*, edited by V. Trenckner, C.R.A.S., London, 1929, p. 420.

poetry, conveyancing, in a word, the whole nineteen (arts and sciences).

"As a disputant, he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome, the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom, so in strength of body, swiftness and valour, there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich, too, mighty in wealth and prosperity and the number of his armed hosts knew no end."[3]

In the course of the discussions there is an incidental reference to the birthplace of King Milinda as Kalasigāma in the *dvīpa* of Alasandā, which is said to have been two hundred *yojanas* distant from Sāgala.[4] Kalasi has not been identified, but the *dvīpa* of Alasandā is taken to be the district of Alexandria under the Caucasus, which appears to have been referred to as Alasanda of the Yonas in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[5] "The *dvīpa* of Alasandā has been identified with the country between the Panjshir and Kabul rivers, in which the ruins of Alexander's city have been recognized near Charikar."[6]

One of the ministers of King Menander has been called Devamitta in the *Milindapañhā*; Buddhapriya has taken this to be the equivalent of the Greek name "Demetrius"—an identification which tallies with that of modern European scholars. The name of another of King Milinda's ministers, "Anantakāya", has been taken as the equivalent of "Antiochus". Two other names of the ministers of Milinda are Maṅkura and Sabbadinna, of which the Greek equivalents are not certain.[7]

Plutarch says that Menander, as a ruler, was noted for justice, and enjoyed such popularity with his subjects that upon his death, which took place in camp, divers cities contended for the possession of his ashes. The dispute was only adjusted by the representatives of the cities agreeing that the relics should be divided among them, and that they should severally erect monuments to his memory. Prof. Rhys Davids has remarked that this statement of Plutarch is analogous to the account given in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the division of the relics after the cremation of the Buddha's body.[8]

Agnimitra, on succeeding to the sovereignty founded by his father, seems to have realized that allies were necessary to deal once and for all with the Yavana power on his western frontiers. And he was drawn to a formidable power that had been established, shortly before his time, to the west of the territories dominated by the Yavanas in India and Bactria. The Parthians, a nomadic

3. T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, Part ii, (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXV), pp. 6-7.
4. ibid, p. 127.
5. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. xxlx, v. 39.
6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 496.
7. T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, Part ii, *op. cit.*, p. xix.
8. ibid, p. xx.

people from the steppes to the north and east of Persia, had wrested from the Seleucid rulers the Iranian lands over which they had exercised sovereignty from the time of Alexander the Great, and founded an empire which was determined to revive the glories of the Achaemenians. It was with the Parthian ruler who was his contemporary that Agnimitra formed an alliance directed against their common enemy, the Yavanas.

It is well known that Alexander the Great settled Greek colonies in a number of cities that he founded in the Iranian territories that were conquered by him.[9] The Seleucid rulers followed this policy. The inhabitants of these colonies must have been very serviceable to the Seleucid rulers in maintaining their authority. But when these territories passed under Parthian sovereignty, the position of the Greek settlers left behind by the retreating Seleucids must have been an anamolous one. The Parthian rulers must have naturally treated them with suspicion, and the Greeks in Iran must have lost one of the principal means of their livelihood—service in the military forces of the state, for the Parthians would not have recruited these Greek settlers into their armies. To find other places for settlement would have been necessary for those Greeks left behind by the retreating armies of the Seleucids. The new masters of the Iranian homelands must also have considered it necessary to have these Greek settlers sent away from their dominions. In those circumstances, the Parthian ruler adopted a policy that was suggested to him by his Indian ally, Agnimitra. The Greeks in the Iranian lands were advised by the Parthian ruler to migrate to the Punjab and to wrest the sovereignty of that fertile land for themselves from those who were at that time dominating it. And the Greeks of Iran are said to have accepted this advice and begun marching on Takṣaśilā. It was left to Menander to deal with this menace to his dominion that arose soon after he succeeded his father.

We have seen above that the reign of Dhīmitra began in a year of the Buddhist era equivalent to 198 B.C. and lasted for twenty-seven years.[10] The year in which Menander began to rule in his own name, as given in the *Pp.*, therefore corresponds to 171 B.C. The Parthian ruler who sent the Greek inhabitants of Iran to wrest the Punjab for themselves must have therefore been Phraates I, the predecessor of Mithradates I whose reign began some time before 160 B.C.[11] The name of the Parthian ally of Agnimitra is given in our document as Haryaśva. This must have been the Sanskrit equivalent, not of the personal name of the Parthian ruler contemporary with Agnimitra, but his dynastic name given by Greek and Latin historians as Arsaces. The Sanskrit

9. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 595; See also R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, in the Pelican Series, pp. 225ff.
10. See above, p. 78.
11. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 613.

writers who took notice of those western potentates appear to have connected the Parthian name, given in the Greek as Arsaces, with the form 'Haryaśva-ka'.

Mayanendra (Menander) by the astuteness of his policy, succeeded in turning to his advantage what his enemy had contrived for his ruin. How this was effected, we will let Bhadra-sthavira narrate in his own words:

"At the time Mayanendra (Menander), son of King Dhīmitra (Demetrius), had attained to the sovereignty of the Pañcanada country, the Śuṅga king named Agnimitra had entered into an alliance with the Pārthava (Parthian) king named Haryaśva (Arsaces). King Haryaśva, in order to render assistance to King Agnimitra, expelled the Yavana people who were in the Pārasika country, stating that it was possible for them to come to the Pañcanada country (Punjab) and settle there, that Pañcanada was a country abounding in great wealth and large quantities of grain, that it will not be difficult to capture the Pañcanada country by waging war with the Yavana people who were there at the time, and that there was nothing for the Yavana people to do in the Pārasika country.

"King Mayanendra, having heard that the Yavana people who were in the Pārasika country had started on their march in order to arrive in, and take possession of the Pañcanada country, and had arrived at the city of Takṣaśilā (Taxila), started himself from the city of Sāgala (Sialkot) and arrived at the city of Takṣaśilā. After having stayed there (for some time), he sent a message to Agraśīla (Agesilaus), the leader of the Yavana people who had arrived from the Pārasika country, stating that he was desirous of seeing the latter. Agraśīla (Agesilaus) came to see King Mayanendra. King Mayanendra received him with great honour and affection and, while engaged in conversation with him, spoke about the war which took place in olden days between Spārtapura (Sparta) and Hastināpura (Athens) in the Paramayavana lands (Europe). Having pointed out that this war was disastrous to both these cities, he continued that at present King Haryaśva (Arsaces) of the Pārasika country and the Śuṅga king of the Magadha country were both endeavouring to bring about the destruction of the Yavana people. Should fighting break out between the Yavana people who had come from the Pārasika country and the Yavana people in the Pañcanada country, it will be possible for the Śuṅga king to vanquish both these parties. Agraśīla accepted as true what King Mayanendra had told, and enquired whether it was possible to give a territory for occupation by the Yavana people who had come from the Pārasika country. King Mayanendra replied that it was possible to give a territory where they could reside for the time being, and that later they could obtain by their own exertions a region better than that. Agraśīla accepted that proposition and (temporarily) settled the women and children who had come with him in the territory called Rājasthāna in the western

part of the Pañcanada country.[12]

"King Mayanendra (thereafter) accompanied by the horsemen who had come from the Pārasika country and the horsemen of his own army, arrived in the Sindhu country, fought with the general of the Śuṅga king who was stationed there, defeated him and captured the Sindhu country. (Thereafter) he arrived in the Mālava country, fought with the general of the Śuṅga king who was stationed there, defeated him and captured the Mālava country.[13] (Thence) he arrived in the Māhiṣmata country, fought with the general of the Śuṅga king who was stationed there, defeated him and captured the Māhiṣmata country. Having arrived at the city of Sāgala, he requested Agraśīla to choose any territory (amongst them) that he desired. Agraśīla said that the Sindhu country was suitable, and he settled there the Yavana people who had come from the Pārasika country. In this manner, all the kingdoms that had been subject to his father, King Dhīmitra, were reconquered by King Mayanendra, and placed in subjection to him.

"When King Mayanendra had returned to the city of Sāgala and was staying there, King Agnimitra marched once more with the intention of capturing the Pañcanada kingdom, and arrived at the city of Madhurā. Having, however, heard that the Kaliṅga king, Khāravela, had advanced on Pāṭaliputra, captured Pāṭaliputra, and was making preparations to receive consecration in the sovereignty of Magadha, Agnimitra precipitately withdrew from the city of Madhurā.

"When seven months had passed from that (occurrence), King Mayanendra, accompanied by a great host, started to conquer the kingdom of Magadha, arrived at the city of Madhurā, fought with the general of Agnimitra who was stationed there, defeated him and captured the city of Madhurā. (He) stationed his own general there, and made the kingdom of Saurasena subject to the Pañcanada kingdom. Having heard that King Mayanendra had started to advance on Pāṭaliputra, Agnimitra stationed his Senāpati in the city of Pāṭaliputra, himself went to the Mahākosala country and remained in the neighbourhood of a mountain fastness.

"King Mayanendra captured Pāṭaliputra, stationed his own general there, and started in pursuit of Agnimitra. He then heard that the feudatory of Agnimitra at the city of Sāketa, who was a scion of the Nāga family, Bṛhatsvātimitra by name, was advancing on Pāṭaliputra with his army, and started to march

12. This appears to be different from the Rajasthāna of today.

13. If the armies marched through territories to the east of the Indus, Māhiṣmata and Mālava countries must have been first subdued before arriving in Sindhu. Menander, therefore, appears to have marched through territories to the west of the Indus and taken the Śuṅga general there by surprise. His arrival in Mālava and Māhiṣmata from the south must have been a surprise to the Śuṅga forces in these lands too.

so as to meet the latter. Bṛhatsvātimitra turned round, retreated with his army, arrived at the city of Sāketa, closed the gates of the city, and took his stand within the city. King Mayanendra arrived at the city of Sāketa and besieged it, but was unable to capture it even after seven months of military operations.

"In the meantime, he heard that King Antalikita (Antialcidas), son of King Strātava of the Bāhlīka country (Bactria), had arrived at the city of Takṣaśilā, and was staying there. Thereupon he (Mayanendra) gave the city of Pāṭaliputra to Bṛhatsvātimitra, entered into a treaty with him, and returned to the city of Sāgala together with his army. He sent a message to King Antalikita advising the latter to return to his own country, and remain there. King Antalikita sent a return message stating that he had come to confer on King Mayanendra the dignity of a general of the Bāhlīka (Bactrian) kingdom. King Mayanendra arrived at Takṣaśilāpura, waged war with King Antalikita, defeated him and sent him flying towards the Bāhlīka kingdom.

"Thereafter he returned to the city of Sāgala, and while reigning there in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, installed his son Antalikita as Yuvarāja. In the thirty-seventh year of his reign, he held disputations with the Elder Nāgasena, was defeated and entered the Śramaṇa Order. He remained a Śramaṇa and departed to the other world in the thirty-ninth year of his reign."

The statement in the *Yugapurāṇa* about Yavana inroads into the Madhyadeśa, quoted in Chapter VII,[14] appears to be a reference to the expedition of Menander, the account of which as given in the *Paramparāpustaka* has been recounted above. But the *Yugapurāṇa* seems to have confused the fate which overtook Pāṭaliputra in this campaign with that of Sāketa. According to the *Yugapurāṇa*, Sāketa was reduced, whereas the *Paramparāpustaka* has it that the ruler of that ancient city was successful in holding out for seven months against the besiegers until they themselves raised the siege. On the other hand, the *Yugapurāṇa* states that the Yavanas only arrived in Pāṭaliputra and were obliged, due to happenings in their own land, to return without capturing it, while according to the narrative of the *Paramparāpustaka*, it was after capturing Pāṭaliputra and stationing a garrison there that the Yavana invader was drawn to Sāketa. The account in the *Paramparāpustaka* appears to be more in accordance with military strategy than that of the *Yugapurāṇa*.

The consequences of the purposeless insult offered by his father to the Bactrian monarch, it appears from the narrative related above, pursued Mayanendra and prevented him from gathering the fruits of his brilliant military achievements. It has, however, to be also pointed out that Bṛhatsvātimitra, by drawing the main forces of Menander, through his clever tactics, to undertake the siege of Sāketa, and by doggedly holding out for seven months, nullified the

14. See above p. 75.

advantages which the Greek invader possessed, and thereby prepared the ground for the Indian forces to recoup from the initial shock of the tremendous blows which they received in mobile warfare, and to return to the fray in encountering the invader who had been forced to a positional war. Agnimitra, on his part, avoided an involvement of his main forces with the invader in a decisive encounter, and retired to a strong defensive position in the mountainous terrain of Mahākosala. Had Menander pursued Agnimitra to his stronghold, it is extremely doubtful whether he would have gained his objective. The purpose of Agnimitra in choosing Mahākosala as the place of refuge, must have been to keep a watch on the movements of Khāravela and Śātakarṇi, for, in the event of an encounter with the Yavana invader, an attack by one of these potentates would have been fatal to the Śuṅga power. Whatever the chances of Menander in the intended pursuit of Agnimitra would have been, the Greek invader could have consolidated his position at Pāṭaliputra so as to hold that imperial city indefinitely, long before the incursion of the Bactrian monarch to the Takṣaśilā kingdom, if Bṛhatsvātimitra did not force him to exhaust much of his strength in an unsuccessful and prolonged siege. The memory of this scion of the Nāga royal clan, deserves, therefore, to be honoured by Indians, as it was he who was primarily responsible for checking the onrush of the "viciously valiant Yavanas" under Menander's command, and preserving the heart of the Āryāvarta without going under the dominion of the foreigners.

The Prakrit equivalent of *Bṛhatsvātimitra* is *Bahasatimitra*; this occurs in the well-known Hāthigumphā inscription as the name of the Magadha king who was made to fall at his feet by the Kaliṅga king Khāravela, when that conqueror invaded the Gangetic Valley in the twelfth year of his reign. As it has been stated in our source that King Mayanendra, when it became necessary to rush back to defend his own dominions, gave over Pāṭaliputra to Bṛhatsvātimitra, the latter would have been known thereafter as the King of Magadha. What the relationship was between Bṛhatsvātimitra and his erstwhile suzerain Agnimitra after the retreat of Menander, we have no knowledge at present. The expedition of Khāravela to Magadha, in which he claims to have humbled Bṛhatsvātimitra, must therefore have taken place after Menander's withdrawal from Pāṭaliputra. Four years earlier, i.e. in the eighth year of Khāravela's reign, the Kaliṅga king is said to have destroyed Gorathagiri, and attacked the city of Rājagṛha. The news of these exploits, it is claimed, caused such terror to a Yavana king, whose name, though given, is not legible, that he fled to Mathurā. It is probable that here we have a reference to Menander's withdrawal from Sāketa, which Khāravela assumed was due to his military operations in and around Rājagṛha. Khāravela having advanced so far into the Gangetic Valley, did not, in this expedition, advance to Pāṭaliputra, which must have been the prize he aimed at. This

was most probably not due to self-denial on his part, but due to a respect for the might of Bṛhatsvātimitra. The unconvincing attempt made by some scholars to identify Bahasatimita with Puṣyamitra is due to his being referred to as the king of Magadha. Though the Purāṇas refer to the Śuṅgas as kings of Magadha, an account of the Śuṅga king given in the *Paramparāpustaka* has recorded that the Śuṅga Brāhmaṇa, after wresting power, proclaimed himself the king of Avanti, which he elevated to the status of the imperial state. The ruler of Magadha would have been a feudatory under the Śuṅga monarch.[15]

Seven months before Menander started on the campaign which ended with the siege of Sāketa, Agnimitra, our source informs us, was at Madhurā making preparations to attack Sāgala, but had to come to Pāṭaliputra to dislodge Khāravela who had captured that city. The Hāthigumphā inscription, so far as it is legible now, does not appear to contain a reference to this exploit of Khāravela. It is unlikely that the achievement of capturing the imperial city was ignored, as Khāravela was forced to quit it by the Śuṅga monarch. It is perhaps likely that this event took place between the fifth and the eighth year of Khāravela's reign—the events of which period are not known, because the record is fragmentary where the narration has dealt with the sixth and the seventh years.[16]

The ultimate purpose of Menander must have been, as it was the declared aim of his father, to revive under his dominion the empire of the Mauryas. Though he failed in this grand design, he had reason to be satisfied with his achievements at the end of his career. By his astute statesmanship, the very stratagem which his enemies planned for his undoing, he turned to his own advantage, and thereby regained all the conquests of his father which the Śuṅga emperor had wrested from him. He also added the kingdom of the Śūrasenas to his dominions, an acquisition which appears to have been retained by the Yavana power up to the end of its existence, and passed on to their successors, the Śakas. The possession of the great city of Mathurā, on which several trade routes converged, must have not only contributed in great measure to the exchequer of the Yavana kings, but also afforded them immense advantages in military strategy. Menander was undoubtedly the most powerful of the Greek princes who held sway in India. As we learn from the *Milindapañhā*, he was not only well versed in the literature, philosophy and culture of his own race, but also took an interest in those of the people whom he ruled. He realized to a great measure the dream of Alexander the Great of creating a synthesis between the East and the West.

15. Later, however, with the Yavanas dominating the Mālava and Avanti countries, the Śuṅgas are said to have come and exercised authority from Pāṭaliputra.

16. See *Epigraphia India*, Vol. XX pp. 86 ff.; also the *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 481ff.

Successors of Menander in the Pancanada Kingdom

In the *Yrv.*, there is a section giving the succession of the Greek rulers of the Pañcanada kingdom and their dates. From this, we can gain a fair idea of the course of events after the death of Menander and the circumstances in which this kingdom came to an end. Buddhapriya gives the date in the Buddhist era, of the accession of each king and also the length of each reign. A noteworthy practice among these Indo-Greek potentates was that each of them associated his son and successor in the government as sub-king (*yuvarāja*) in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The initial year of each reign was considered to be that on which the prince was installed as *yuvarāja*; but some events in the reign of Mayanendra (Menander) are given as having occurred in regnal years calculated from the date on which he assumed power himself after the death of his father. The last regnal years of a king therefore overlapped with the opening years of the reign of his successor. Hence it was necessary to give the initial year of each reign in the Buddhavarṣa. The *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, from which Buddhapriya derived his material, had given the dates in the Buddhist era of the Pañcanada country, of which the initial year was 545 B.C. But Buddhapriya, as he was writing in Śrīvijaya or Suvarṇṇapura for the benefit of scholars there, had converted these dates to the Buddhavarṣa which was prevailing there. The initial point of the Buddhavarṣa of Suvarṇṇapura was 477 B.C.

A full translation is given below of this important section of the *Yavanarājyavṛttānta*:

"Dhīmitra (Demetrius), the son of Yuvasthadhīmat[17] attained to the sovereignty of Pañcanada in the year Two hundred and seventy-seven of the Buddhist era, installed his son, Mayanendra (Menander) as sub-king (*yuvarāja*) in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and died after he had reigned for twenty-seven years.

"Mayanendra, the son of Dhīmitra, attained to his own sovereignty in the year Three hundred and four of the Buddhist era, installed his son Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas)[18] in the twenty-fifth year of the attainment of his own sovereignty, had disputations with the Elder Nāgasena in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, was defeated, and entered the Order of (Buddhist) Śramaṇas, and died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. The regnal years of Mayanendra were continued even after he had entered the Order of Śramaṇas.

"There were five sons of King Mayanendra. Before King Mayanendra entered the Order of Śramaṇas, he gave the kingdom of Pañcanada to the eldest son

17. Though Buddhapriya has stated that Dhīmitra was the son of Yuvasthadhimat, king of Bāhlika, here Dhimitra is said to have been the son of a Yuvasthadhīmat, who is not referred to as a king. In this connection, see p. 77.

Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas)[18], the kingdom of Sindhu to the second son Appāladatta, the kingdom of Māhiṣmata to the third son Panthalayana (Pantaleon), the kingdom of Suvarṇṇakuḍya to the fourth son Yuvakratudha (Eucratides), and the kingdom of Takṣaśilā to the fifth son Yuvasthadhīmat, (also known by) the other name of Sotara Maga, and enjoined on the four brothers, Appāladatta, etc. that they should remain subject to Sūryyadvāra.

"Sūryyadvāra, son of King Mayanendra, was installed as sub-king (*yuvarāja*) in the year Three Hundred and twenty-nine of the Buddhist era, attained to his own sovereignty in the year Three Hundred and forty-three of the Buddhist era, installed his own son Appāladatta (Apollodotus) in the office of sub-king (*yuvarāja*), in the twenty-fifth year after he had himself inaugurated his rule as (*yuvarāja*), and reigned for another seven years after that (event, before he) died. In the reign of King Sūryyadvāra, King Bhāgapautra of Paṇḍarapura, being defeated by the Śuṅga king named Sudhanvan, came to the city of Sāgalá and died while he was there.

"Appāladatta, son of King Sūryyadvāra, attained to the dignity of the sub-king (*yauvarājya*) in the year Three Hundred and fifty-four of the Buddhist era, and attained to his own sovereignty in the year Three Hundred and sixty-one of the Buddhist era, and installed his son Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas) in the office of the sub-king (*yauvarājya*) in the twenty-fifth year after he had himself been installed in the office of sub-king (*yauvarājya*), and died fifteen years after that.

"Sūryyadvāra (the Second), the son of Appāladatta, attained to the dignity of sub-king (*yauvarājya*) in the year Three Hundred and seventy-nine of the Buddhist era, attained to his own sovereignty in the year Three Hundred and ninety-four of the Buddhist era, and installed his son Sūryyadvāra in the twenty-fifth year after he had himself attained the dignity of the sub-king (*yauvarājya*). After seven years had elapsed from that date, the kingdom of Pañcanada was conquered by the Pārthian king named Mitradatta. Sūryyadvāra went to the Sindhu kingdom, accompanied by his son and his retinue, remained there, and died in the twenty-seventh year from the attainment of his own sovereignty.

"In the reign of the Pārthava king named Parṇṇadhatta[19] the son of Mitradatta, Yuvakratudha (Eucratides) descended from Yuvakratudha, who was a general of Alexander the Great, conquered the Pañcanada kingdom, attained to the sovereignty in the year Four Hundred and twenty-four of the Buddhist era and reigned for seventeen years.[20] His daughter Ahatakalyā (Agathocleia) in association with her husband Strātava (Strato), reigned for seven years, after

18. For this name, see p. 25.
19. The Sanskrit equivalent of this name has been given as Suvarṇṇadhartṛ.
20. Who this Eucratides was, and from where and in what circumstances he came to the Punjab, will be given in the sequel of the narrative.

which the kingdom of Pañcanada was again conquered by the Pārthava king Vindaparṇṇa.[21] After five years from that (event), the Pañcanada kingdom was conquered by Skandaśiṣya[22] (Kadphises), son of King Mogha (Maues), a scion of the Kuśāna family.[23]

"King Mogha (Maues) came from the Uttrakuru lands[24] to the Bāhlīka kingdom and, having waged war with King Devapriya (Theophilus) who was reigning there, and defeated and slain him, captured the Bāhlīka kingdom. Yuvakratudha, son of King Devapriya, arrived in the Pañcanada kingdom with his army, waged war with the general of the Pārthava king who was stationed there, and captured the Pañcanada country.

"King Mogha, while being in the Bāhlīka kingdom, conquered the Sugdha kingdom, the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom, the Suvāstu kingdom, the Gandhāra kingdom and the Takṣaśilā kingdom. He stationed his son Skandaśiṣya in the the Bāhlīka kingdom, and himself took up residence in the city of Takṣaśilā, and reigned for sixteen years.

"His son Skandaśiṣya (Kadphises I) conquered the Pañcanada kingdom and reigned for seven years from the city of Sāgala. His son Skandaśiṣya (Kadphises II) succeeded to the entire dominion of his father, and having conquered the Māhiṣmata kingdom, the Avanti kingdom, the Mālava kingdom, and the Sindhu kingdom, reigned for twenty-five years. His son Kaniṣka succeeded to the whole dominion of his father in the year Four Hundred and eighty-seven of the Buddhist era,[25] resided in Sāgalapura and, having captured the city of Madhurā, made all the kingdoms that had belonged to the Yavanas subject to him and died after reigning for fifty-five years."

Thus has the *Yavanarājyavṛttānta* briefly stated the succession of the Greek rulers in the Punjab and the establishment of Kuśāna dominion in all the lands that once acknowledged the sovereignty of the Greeks. Buddhapriya has mentioned only the succession of the kings and the years in which the various rulers attained at first to the dignity of sub-king (*yuvarāja*) and then to the sole sovereignty, together with the lengths of the reigns. The *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, the source of the

21. A Parthian emperor distinct from Gondopharnes, who is also sometimes referred to as Vindaparṇṇa.

22. The name in the Śaka language is said to mean the summit (*hisa* = Skt. *śirṣa*) of the tree (*kada* = Skt. *skandha*).

23. The variant reading 'Śaka family' also occurs.

24. It is said that *Rājavaṁśapustaka* has stated that Mogha came from the neighbourhood of the Turuṣka kingdom, but as this name was applied at the time these documents were indited on stone, to the Muslim Sultanate in North India, the name Uttarakurus has been adopted to avoid misunderstanding.

25. It is due to taking this date as given in the Buddhavarṣa of the Pañcanada country, that the error has been made by me elsewhere of stating that the inauguration of Kaniṣka was the beginning of the Vikrama Saṁvat era.

Yrv., appears to have given some important events in each reign, but Buddhapriya has only referred to the defeat by the Śuṅga king of King Bhāgapautra of Paṇḍarapura, and his taking refuge in Sāgala in the reign of Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas I), the son and successor of Mayanendra (Milinda). He has possibly made an exception in this case because he has dealt with at length about the identity of King Sūryyādvāra who was a contemporary of Bhāgapautra (See Chapter IX). But the scholar who has prepared the text of the *Yrv.* to be engraved on stones, has interpolated, after the reference to the regnal years of Appāladatta (Apollodotus), a statement on two events which took place in the reign of that monarch. A translation of this passage is given below:

"Appāladatta, son of King Appāladatta, entered the Order of Buddhist Śramaṇas and came to the Siṁhala kingdom. After having remained there for some time, he proceeded to the Priyaṅgudvīpa (a region in the Malay Peninsula)[26], remained there for some time and thence proceeded to the kingdom of Paramabhuvana.[27] He established the Buddhaśāsana in that country and died while residing there. The name of Appāladatta Sthavira occurs in the *Siṁhalavastuprakaraṇa* as 'the Sthavira who was the son of the Yavana king'.[28] The kingdom of Paramabhuvana was called *Mlecchajanapada* at that time. In the *Siṁhalavastuprakaraṇa*, the reference stood as 'the kingdom of Paramabhuvana of which the former name was Mlecchajanapada', but at present it has been corrupted as 'Milakkhapubbaṅgama''.[29]

"In the reign of King Appāladatta, an independent kingdom was set up by the Yavana people in the Sindhu kingdom with the help of the Pārasika kingdom. King Appāladatta arrived in the Sindhu kingdom, accompanied by his army, waged war with Yuvasthadhīmat who was administering the government there, defeated and slew him, gave the Sindhu kingdom to his son, (also named) Yuvasthadhīmat, and made the necessary arrangements for the Sindhu kingdom to remain in subjection to the Pañcanada kingdom.

"In the reign of King Appāladatta, the Śuṅga king named Bhāgavata captured the kingdom of Paṇḍarapura and set up at Paṇḍarapura a pillar bearing a standard (*dhvajastambha*).[30] Appāladatta arrived at Paṇḍarapura with his army, waged war

26. For the identification of Priyaṅgudvīpa (Piyaṅgudīpa), see *Ceylon and Malaysia*, pp. 100ff.

27. In modern Vietnam, referred to as Fu-nan in Chinese writings.

28. *Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa* edited by Ācariya Buddhadatta Mahāthera, Colombo, 1959, p. 143, where he is referred as Yonaka Dhammarakkhita-thera. The *thera* referred to as the son of the Yonaka king in the *Sahassavatthu*, is named Buddharakkhita, see *Sahassavatthu*, edited by Buddhadatta Mahathera, pp. 39-40.

29. See *Sīhalavatthu*, op. cit., p. 136. The reference to Milakkhadesa in the printed text is in a sentence where some words are obviously missing. The reference occurs in a story which has been later appended to the *Sīhalavatthu*.

30. This is the pillar referred to in the *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1913-14* p. 190.

with the general of King Bhāgavata, defeated him and stationed his son, Sūryyadvāra, there."

"These events, given in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, are given (here) though they have not been given in the *Yavanarājyavṛttānta*."

For easy reference, the dates of accession and other events given in the above extract from the *Yrv*. are shown below in tabulated form, with the dates in the Christian era, before and after :

Name of King	Date of accession as Yuvarāja	Date of accession as sole ruler and dates for other events	Length of reign in years
Dhīmitra (Demetrius), son of Yuvasthadhīmat (Euthydemus)		198 B.C. Mayanendra, his son installed as Yuvarāja in the 25th year.	27
Mayanendra (Menander) son of Dhīmitra	173 B.C.	171 B.C. Disputed with Nāgasena and became monk in 136 B.C. Died in 134 B.C.	39
Sūryyadvāra I (Antialcidas) son of Mayanendra	148 B.C.	134 B.C.	32
Appāladatta (Apollodotus) son of Sūryyadvāra I	123 B.C.	116 B.C.	40
Sūryyadvāra II son of Appāladatta.	98 B.C.	83 B.C.	43
Sūryyadvāra III son of Sūryyadvāra II	73 B.C.		Died in exile in Sindhu in 56 B.C.

Dates of main events after Sūryyadvāra II's reign :

67 B.C. Conquest of the Pañcanada kingdom by the Pārthava King Mitradatta.
55 B.C. Pañcanada conquered by Yuvakratudha (Eucratides), a descendant of Yuvakratudha, a general of Alexander the Great.
36 B.C. Yuvakratudha's death and the beginning of the joint reign of Ahatakalyā (Agathocleia) and her husband Strātava (Strato).
29 B.C. The reign of Ahatakalyā and her spouse terminated with the conquest of Pañcanada kingdom by Vindaparṇṇa, the Pārthava king.
24 B.C. The conquest of Pañcanada kingdom by Skandaśiṣya (Kadphises I) son of Mogha (Maues), of the Kuśāna dynasty.

The *Yrv*. does not give the years of accession of the Śaka rulers Mogha, Skandaśiṣya I & II who, one after the other, deprived the Yavana princes of their extensive dominions from Bactria to the Punjab, and as far as Sindhu in the south. But the lengths of their reigns are given. Kaniṣka I, who captured Madhurā, the easternmost possession of the Yavanas, is said to have ascended the throne in 487 of the Buddhist era, i.e. 10 A.C. From this we can arrive at the dates of the three predecessors of his, as given below :

439 B.E. (of Suvarṇṇapura) = 38 B.C. Accession of Mogha as King of Takṣaśilā and Bāhlīka.
455 B.E. = 22 B.C. Accession of Skandaśiṣya I.
462 B.E. = 15 B.C. Accession of Skandaśiṣya II.
487 B.E. = 10 A.C. Accession of Kaniṣka I.

From whom Kaniṣka I captured the city of Madhurā has not been stated. The statement that by the capture of Madhurā by Kaniṣka I, the Kuśānas became masters of all the kingdoms that acknowledged the suzerainty of the Yavanas, does not necessarily imply that the city was captured from a Yavana ruler. The kingdom of Pañcanada was conquered by the Kuśānas from the Parthians. It is therefore possible that a Parthian satrap held Mathurā in the interval between the conquest of Pañcanada by Skandaśiṣya I, and the capture of that city by Kaniṣka I.

All vestiges of Yavana supremacy had been swept away in the time of Kaniṣka I. The Kuśānas, therefore, would not be of interest to us any further in this book, but as there is a possibility of Kaniṣka I being taken as the monarch of that name who is famous as a patron of Buddhism, we must, even in brief, clarify the position in the light of documents now brought to light. According to the *Rvp*., Kaniṣka I, after his long reign of 55 years, was succeeded by his son, also named Kaniṣka. In the reign of this Kaniṣka II who, like his three predecessors, ruled from the city of Sāgala, a Dramiḍa king named Ajayya, who had brought

under his control the territories to the west of the Sindhu, advanced to Takṣaśilā and captured that city. He ruled in that city for seven years, and after his death was succeeded by his son Ajaiyaileya. This king captured the city of Puruṣapura, and was making preparations to advance on Sāgala, when Kaniṣka II marched forward, defeated Ajaiyaileya, putting him to flight, recaptured Takṣaśilā and Puruṣapura, and made the last named city the seat of his government. Kaniṣka II died in the fourteenth year of his reign, and was succeeed by his son, also named Kaniṣka, in the year 555 of the Buddhist era, i.e. in 78 A.D. This Kaniṣka III, who also had Puruṣapura as his capital, was the patron of Buddhism and the founder of the Śaka era. In the names of Ajayya and Ajaiyaileya, who during almost the whole of the reign of Kaniṣka II, had driven a wedge into the territories held by the Kuśānas, we can recognize Azes and Azilises of the coins. According to Mahā Buddharakṣita, "Dramiḍa" was the name of one of the five tribes which comprised the Parthian people. This tribe fought with, and was defeated by, the Parṇni, who founded the Parthian empire, and were driven to the eastern regions of Persia, where they founded a kingdom of their own.

The succession of rulers in the four kingdoms which were subject to Pañcanada has also been given in the *Rvp.* and appears to have been incised on some stones. But I have not been able to decipher these passages containing their names. Even if all the names of the rulers of these four kingdoms are recovered, they, together with those of their paramount sovereigns of Pañcanada, are hardly likely to exhaust all the names of Indo-Greek kings appearing on coins. This excess may be due to one or other of two reasons. It is possible that some Greek princes ruled as the feudatories of the Kuśānas and were permitted to issue silver coins. But the high-sounding titles appearing on most of the coins of Indo-Greek rulers go against this proposition. The other possibility is that, during one or more of the reigns of the paramount rulers of Pañcanada referred to above, Greek princes or military leaders set themselves up as independent rulers in some of the kingdoms like Gandhāra, Suvāstu, Sugdha, Mālava, etc. which are not specifically mentioned in the division of his empire among his sons by Menander, and some of these were able to maintain themselves against the central authorities for a period long enough to issue coins in their names.

Descendants of the Greek Princes of the Punjab

The subsequent fate of these Greek rulers who held imperial sway from Sāgala is recounted in the third recension of the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa* in its account of the descent of Dhātusena, the first king of the Moriya dynasty of Ceylon, who ascended the Anurādhapura throne in or about 459 A.C.

The last of the descendants of Dhīmitra to hold sway in the Punjab, Sūryyadvāra II, as we have seen above, retired to the Sindhu kingdom with his followers, when he was defeated by the Parthian invaders, and reigned from there to the end of his life. He was succeeded by his son Sūryyadvāra who, we have seen, was associated with his father as regent during the last seven years of his reign in the Punjab. When Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas III) was reigning in Sindh, how many years after his father's death we are not told, the kingdom of Sindhu also was conquered by the Parthians.

Antialcidas, with his retainers, came to the city of Pratiṣṭhāna when the fifth king of the Āndhra dynasty was reigning there, gave an undertaking to remain in subjection to that monarch, and made a request that he be given a source of income to maintain himself and those who had accompanied him. King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi granted the port of Dhenukākaṭa and the territory dependent on it as the fief (*bhukti*) of Sūryyadvāra, the titular king of the Yavanas. Many who were of the retinue of Sūryyadvāra engaged themselves in trade and amassed great wealth. Yuvasthadhīmat, the son of Antialcidas, continued to be the feudatory ruler of Dhenukākaṭa to the end of his life. In the time of his son Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas), who succeeded as feudatory ruler, the territory including Dhenukākaṭa was conquered by Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. Sūryyadvāra transferred his allegiance to Rudradāman, and on the death of Rudradāman, took the side of his son Jīvadāman and fought against Rudrasiṁha, the brother of Rudradāman. Sūryyadvāra was defeated and taken prisoner, but made peace with Rudrasiṁha, undertaking to give the latter a hundred thousand *suvarṇas* and his daughter Suvarṇṇākṣi. He got back the fief of Dhenukākaṭa, and continued to possess it as before. The daughter of Suvarṇṇākṣi and Rudrasiṁha, by name Arcayanti-Mitrā, was espoused by the King of the Puṇḍra country. The Puṇḍra king, whose son named Kalabhra married the daughter of Rudrasiṁha, was the son of a daughter of Mahādāṁṣtrika Mahānāga of Ceylon, and was the fourteenth ancestor of Dhātusena.

In an explanatory note added to this account in the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa*, we are informed that the rich Yavanas of Dhenukākaṭa have left inscriptions engraved on the pillars of a Caityagṛha at Krayālaya (Kārle), recording donations made by them towards the expense of having it excavated. Dhama Yavana, figuring in one of these records, we are told, was the titular king (Dharmarāja) of the Yavanas of Dhenukākaṭa at the time of the inscription.

CHAPTER NINE

BHĀGABHADRA AND ANTIALCIDAS OF THE BESNAGAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION

The most impressive and historically the most significant monument in India, left to us by a person of Greek origin, is the Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar (the ancient Vidiśā).[1] It is a monolithic free-standing column with a bell-capital carrying a figured superstructure, thus reproducing in its general appearance and intentions the Asokan pillar of nearly a century before.[2] An inscription in early Brāhmī characters engraved on its shaft, dated in the fourteenth year of King Bhāgabhadra, records that the Garuḍadhavja was erected by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Takkhasilā (Takṣaśilā) who came as Greek ambassador (*Yonadūta*) from the great king (*mahārāja*) Antalikida (Antialcidas) to King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, the Saviour[3]. King Bhāgabhadra named in this inscription has been taken by some historians to be the same as Bhāgavata, the ninth Śuṅga king who is mentioned, with the correct form of his name, in another inscription originating from the same place, but in a script of a somewhat later date than the record of Heliodorus. In the view of others, Bhāgabhadra is to be identified with the fifth ruler of the Śuṅga line, whose name is variously given in the Purāṇas as Andhraka, Antaka, Ārdraka, Odruka or Bhadraka.[4]

1. See *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1913-14*, p. 190.
2. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 21.
3. For the inscription on the pillar, see above, note 13.
4. Radhakumud Mookerji, writing in the *Age of Imperial Unity (HCHIP,* Vol. II), p.98, says of Bhāgabhadra. "This Bhāgabhadra was most probably the fifth Śuṅga king Bhadraka. His identification with the ninth Śuṅga king named Bhāvagata in the Purāṇas cannot be upheld as a second pillar at Besnagar is dated in the twelfth regnal year of king Bhāgavata, and the Bhāgabhadra of the one pillar cannot be taken to be the Bhāgavata of the other," Prof. Jagannath, writing in the *Comprehensive History of India*, states the case for the other side. "There seems to be no valid reason for doubting the identity of this king with Bhāgavata Śuṅga of the Purāṇas. There is another inscription on the Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar two miles from Bhilsa, which is dated in the fourteenth year of king Bhāgabhadra. In spite of the slight variation in the form of the two names, there can be no doubt that Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar record is identical with Bhāgavata Śuṅga, for the simple reason that their dates almost coincide—Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas ruled from 114 B.C., and that is approximately the time of Antialcidas and therefore of Bhāgabhadra" (p. 102). And this is what has been said by a competent authority about the date of Antialcidas of the coins who is taken to be the same as Antialcidas of the inscription, for no other reason than the identity of name: "If the duration of reigns given in the Purāṇas, confused thought it is by textual corruption, be approximately correct, the fourteenth year of King Bhāgabhadra (within a few years of 90

The *Rājavaṁśapustaka* has a reference to this Garuḍa pillar of Heliodorus (Suryyādhvaryu), but the name of the place where it was set up has been given there as Paṇḍarapura. The king to whom Heliodorus came as envoy is called Bhāgapautra, and is said to have been the representative of a family about which modern historians have no knowledge whatsoever. The *Paramparāpustaka*, in what connection it has not been stated, refers to Bhāgapautra and, agreeing with most modern historians, has taken him as Bhāgavata, the tenth (not the ninth, according to the texts of the Purāṇas, now extant) ruler of the Śuṅga line. As there is thus a discrepancy between these two authorities, Buddhapriya, the author of the *Yavana-rājya-vṛttānta*, showing an enthusiasm for historical research which would appear incredible to most modern scholars, secured a copy of the inscription, and made his own investigations with regard to the identity of the ruler to whom Heliodorus was sent as envoy, and the Greek monarch who sent him. His conclusions may or may not find acceptance by modern historians, but the account he has left of his studies on the subject is given in his own words, as a specimen of historical research, pertaining to a distant land, carried out in Ceylon in the twelfth century.

"It has been narrated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that there were relations between the Pārasika kingdom that existed at Paṇḍarapura in ancient times, and the kingdom of Pañcanada, that a Garuḍa pillar was erected by him when the envoy, named Sūryyādhvaryu (Heliodorus), of King Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas) of the kingdom of Pañcanada,[5] had come to Paṇḍarapura on a diplomatic mission, and was staying there, that a lithic inscription has been set up on that pillar and that the name of the king who flourished at that time in Paṇḍarapura was Bhāgapautra. It has been stated in the *Paramparāpustaka* that the name of the king is that of the tenth of the Śuṅga family, Bhāgavata, that in the reign of King Bhāgavata, an envoy named Sūryyadvāra (Heliodorus) of the Yavana king came to the kingdom of Pañcanada from the kingdom of Takṣaśilā, and from there proceeded to the kingdom of Paṇḍarapura.

"It is further stated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that, in the reign of King Bhāgapautra, the kingdom of Paṇḍarapura was conquered by the Śuṅga king named Sudhanvan, and that King Bhāgapautra came to the kingdom of Pañcanada and died there. It has been said by Rājasundarapaṇḍita that the name 'Sudhanvan'

B.C., whether earlier or later) may well have fallen within the reign of Antialcidas if, as seems not unlikely, he was the successor of Heliocles and came to the throne in 120 B.C." (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 470). Thus a date very doubtfully arrived at on the evidence of the Purāṇas and other conjectures, is made use of to declare that the date given for a king mentioned in that particular context in the Purāṇas is reliable, and that the identification made on those very doubtful premises is one about which there can be no doubt. Such are the reasons which are "convincing" to our "scientific" historians.

5. For the Greek name being given as Sūryyadvāra in Sanskrit, see above p. 25.

of a Śuṅga king is not found in the Purāṇa books. The name "Sudhanvan" as that of a Maurya king is found in the *Divyāvadāna*.[6] It is the opinion of Rājasundara-paṇḍita that "Sudhanvan" can be used as a title of any king.

"It appears as if there is a discrepancy between the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* and the *Paramparāpustaka*. Therefore (in order to ascertain the true position), a facsimile (*pratirūpam*) of the inscription which is on the pillar at Paṇḍarapura was obtained through the good offices (*mārgeṇa*) of the Ambassador of the Mālava king, with the assistance of the Ambassador of the Surāṣṭra king, who was stationed at Suvarṇṇapura, and read, after having shown it to Sumaṅgalācāryya also. The reading of this inscription is given below[7].

"There are two inscriptions on the second pillar which is at Paṇḍarapura. Of these two, there is in the first a verse that has been composed stating in brief the Bhāgavata doctrine. That has no relevance here. Therefore its reading has not been given here.

"The text of the inscription is clear. The name of the king who was at Paṇḍarapura is also clear; it is "Bhāgabhadara". But it is not possible to give any appropriate meaning to the compound word "Bhāgabhadra," in accordance with (the principles of) Sanskrit grammar. It is not possible to obtain a meaning that is appropriate as the name of an individual by treating the compound as one of the dependent determinative class (*tatpuruṣa*) and analysing it as "what is good (*bhadra*) of the share (*bhāga*)," or by treating it as a compound of the descriptive dependent class (*karmmadhāraya*) and analysing it as "the share verily is that (*bhāga eva so*) and the good verily is that (*bhadra eva so*)." Therefore, it appears as if the name "Bhāgabhadra" is formed by giving a Sanskrit garb to a Prākrit name. It is possible to take the name as formed by a (false) restoration into Sanskrit of a Prākrit compound which had assumed the form *Bhagabadda* through *Bhagapotra, Bhagapotta* and *Bhagapatta*, from *Bhāgapautra* resulting from the addition of the *aṇ* suffix to both members of the compound *Bhaga-putra*. The form Bhāgapautra has been given even by Buddharakṣita-sthavira (the author of *Rvp.*). It is well known that phonetic changes not in accord with grammatical science, do take place in personal names. The change of "Suvarṇṇa-varṇṇa" into "Poṇṇavan" is found in the Āndhra language. Therefore, it is reasonable to accept that the name Bhāgabhadra was that of the son of Bhagaputra.

"The view of Rājasundarapaṇḍita is that the name Bhāgabhadra is a variant of the name Bhāgavata. It is not possible to accept this view of Rājasundarapaṇḍita. The epithet *trātara* comes before the name Bhāgabhadra. The epithet *trātara* is the Sanskrit version of the word which in the Greek language is *sotera*. It is not possible to accept that the Sanskrit version of a Greek epithet was prefixed to the name of a king of the Śuṅga dynasty. Those of the Śuṅga dynasty were Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas regard the Yavanas as Mlecchas. It is not possible that permission was given to attach to the name of a king of Brāhmaṇa origin, the Sanskrit version of a title which is attached to the names of kings of Mleccha origin. Therefore, it is not possible to accept that the king of Paṇḍarapura figuring in the inscription on the pillar at Paṇḍarapura was a scion of the Śuṅga dynasty.

6. No Maurya king of this name is mentioned in the text of the *Divyāvadāna* now extant.
7. As the text is correctly given, it is not reproduced here.

"Of the two pillars found at Paṇḍarapura, one stands at a distance of about two *gavyūtis* from the city. The second is situated in the neighbourhood of the city. On the second pillar there is an inscription of the Śuṅga king named Bhāgavata. He who was named Bhāgavata was the tenth king of the Śuṅga dynasty. That there is an interval of about a hundred years between that inscription and the inscription on the first pillar, can be known from the evolution of the forms of the letters (in the two epigraphs). Therefore, King Bhāgabhadra mentioned in the inscription which is on the first pillar and King Bhāgavata mentioned in the inscription found on the second pillar, cannot be one and the same person. That the interval of time between King Bhāgavata and the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty was about a hundred years can be known from the accounts given in the Purāṇa books. Therefore, it can be inferred that King Bhāgabhadra lived at the same time as that of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. King Dhīmitra, the founder of the Pañcanada kingdom, flourished contemporaneously with the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty; this can be gleaned from the historical accounts forthcoming in the Yavana books. It has been narrated in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* that, in the time of King Dhīmitra, the founder of the Pañcanada kingdom, King Bhāgapautra of the kingdom of Paṇḍarapura, being defeated by the Śuṅga king named Sudhanvan, came to the Pañcanada kingdom, remained there and died. Therefore, it is possible that King Sudhanvan and the founder of the Suṅga dynasty, named Subrahman were one and the same person. The word "Sudhanvan" and the word "Subrahmā" are written in the Sanskrit language with letters that are similar. Therefore, it is easy to accept that he who was named "Sudhanvan" and he who was named "Subrahmā" were one and the same person. When it is accepted that he named "Sudhanvan" and he named "Subrahmā" were one and the same person, it becomes possible to conclude that King Bhāgapautra and King Dhīmitra were contemporaries. When it is accepted that King Dhīmitra and King Bhāgapautra were contemporaries, it is not possible to accept that an envoy of King Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas) the grandson of King Dhīmitra, came to Paṇḍarapura and remained there.

"It is narrated in the peom, *Lost Braid*, of the poet named Kalyamagha, that Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas), the son of Tulumāya (Ptolemy) Evuragata, son of Tulumāya Philadalpha, of the Misara kingdom, came to the Kurīṇa kingdom and

remained there. Therefore it is possible to accept that the king named Sūryya-dvāra (Antialcidas) mentioned in the inscription on the first pillar at Paṇḍarapura is the same as King Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas) of the Kūrīṇa kingdom.

"It is possible to accept that there were relations between the Kūrīṇa kingdom and the Paṇḍarapura kingdom. It is given in the inscriptions of King Dharmmāśoka that King Dharmmāśoka and the king named Sotara Maga of Kurīṇa, remained friends.

"It is not difficult to conceive that when the Maurya empire fell after the death of King Dharmmāśoka, the Satraps who were exercising authority in the different provinces founded independent kingdoms. It is also possible to accept that the Satrap in the province (which included) Paṇḍarapura was of Persian nationality. It is stated in the inscription of the Satrapa Rudradāman which is on the rock of Girinagara, that there was a Satrap of Persian nationality named Parṇṇadatta in the Surāṣtra kingdom in the time of the Maurya empire.[8] If it is accepted that there was a Persian Satrap in the province of Surāṣtra, it becomes possible to accept that there was a Persian Satrap in the province of Paṇḍarapura, which is closer to the Pārasika country than the province of Surāṣtra.

"When it is accepted that there was a Persian Satrap in the province of Paṇḍarapura, it becomes possible also to accept that after the fall of the Maurya empire, that Persian Satrap established an independent kingdom and remained as its ruler. It is further possible to conclude that when the Śuṅga empire was founded, an attempt was made to include all these independent kingdoms in the Śuṅga empire, and that the kingdom of Bhāgapautra, the son of the Pārasika Satrap, was also included in the Śuṅga empire."

Such are the arguments by which Buddhapriya has endeavoured to prove that Bhāgabhadra of the inscription on the pillar at the site now called Besnagar was not a scion of the Śuṅga dynasty, and for his identification of the Yavana monarch who sent an envoy to Bhāgabhadra. An impartial judge, in our opinion, will be constrained to give his verdict in support of the contention that Bhāgabhadra was not a Śuṅga king, and that a rehearsal of his arguments ought to shake the complacency of modern historians with which they take Bhāgabhadra to be the same as Bhāgavata, and their satisfaction in having extracted all the possible historical information from this epigraph.

Buddhapriya's arguments that Bhāgabhadra cannot be the Śuṅga king Bhāgavata, on the ground that the latter's inscription found at the same site has used letters which are developed in form and that, paleographically, there appears to be an interval of about a century between the inscription of Bhāgabhadra and

8. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 47. The name of the Persian Satrap was Tuṣāspa not Parṇṇadatta. Buddhapriya was writing from memory, hence errors like this are not infrequently found in these documents.

the inscription containing the name of the Śuṅga ruler as it occurs in the Purāṇas, are cogent and deserve consideration by modern critical scholars. There is also much force in his argument that a Śuṅga ruler, who was of Brāhmaṇa lineage, would not have approved the use, with his name, of the title *trātara*, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of a title attached to the names of Greek rulers, who in the estimation of the Brāhmaṇas, were only Mlecchas. To one who is acquainted with the highly condemnatory language, which the Purāṇas have indulged in, whenever they refer to Yavana and Śaka rulers, it also seems unlikely that a Śuṅga monarch would have maintained diplomatic relations with a Yavana ruler of India. Such a step would be a tacit admission of the legality of the claim for sovereignty over their Indian dominions which the Yavana kings put forward. Buddhapriya's arguments against the position taken by the *Paramparāpustaka*, which is the same as that of most modern historians of India, are conditioned by the information furnished by the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* about the ruler of Persian origin named Bhāgapautra to whom the envoy named Heliodorus was sent by a Yavana king. Mahā-Buddharakṣita, the author of the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, lived for many years in the Punjab where Bhāgapautra found refuge after he was deprived of his kingdom by the Śuṅga king. The historical works on the Yavana kings of the Punjab which Mahā-Buddharakṣita consulted, no doubt contained reference to Bhāgapautra and the setting up of the Garuḍa pillar by the Yavana ambassador at his court. As we are told that Mahā-Buddharakṣita travelled extensively in the lands to the south and west of the Pañcanada country, it is very likely that he visited Paṇḍarapura, as he had called the city which existed in ancient days at the place now called Besnagar, and read the inscription, the text of which would have been available with the learned men of the place in his time.

The philological arguments adduced by Buddhapriya to establish that the name Bhāgabhadra is a Sanskritization of a Prakrit form of Bhāgapautra, may appear far-fetched to some scholars today, but it is not impossible that the conjectural forms given by him were actually in use among the people in ancient times. The phonetical rules on which such forms are based may not be in accord with the theories of modern linguists of the West, but merit consideration from disinterested students.

We may adduce one more reason, which is not given by Buddhapriya, against the identification of Bhāgabhadra with the Śuṅga ruler Bhāgavata. In the inscription on the Garuḍa pillar, the Yavana ruler Antialcidas is referred to as *mahārāja* (great king), whereas Bhāgabhadra is given the less pretentious title of *raño* (king). It is not possible that a Śuṅga ruler who had assumed imperial status would have permitted such a procedure to be adopted in an inscription set up within his dominions, tantamount to an admission of status of the Yavana king higher than that of the Śuṅga ruler. On the other hand, if Bhāgabhadra was,

as Buddhapriya conjectures, a Mauryan Satrap who thought of carving out a kingdom for himself from the ruins of that empire, he would not have objected to himself being referred to by a title lesser than that given to the Yavana ruler, particularly if he was in need of the assistance of the latter.

With regard to the identity of the Greek ruler Antialcidas, who sent Heliodorus as envoy to Bhāgabhadra, Buddhapriya has come to the startling conclusion that he was of the distant kingdom of Cyrene, the history of which, extracted from the *Yrv.*, has been given above in Chapter II. We do not think that any scholar today will be prepared to follow Buddhapriya in the view that the Yavana king Antialcidas of the Besnagar pillar inscription was a ruler of Cyrene, the son of Ptolemy Euregetes of Egypt. Whether Ptolemy Euregetes had a son of that name who became ruler of Cyrene is also not known from any other source. It is true that there were relations between Asoka and Magas of Cyrene; but we do not know whether they were of such a nature that this distant Hellenic state in Africa considered it necessary to send an envoy to an Indian state of little consequence that had arisen from the ruins of the Maurya empire.

The necessity for Buddhapriya to have taken Antialcidas as a ruler of Cyrene was the fact that at the period to which he assigns Bhāgabhadra, there was no Greek ruler of that name known to him, in a region closer to the western frontiers of India than that remote Hellenic kingdom. But the *Rājavaṁśapustaka* definitely states that Sūryyadvāra (Antialcidas) who sent the envoy to Bhāgabhadra was of the Pañcanada kingdom. According to the list of Greek potentates of that kingdom given by Buddhapriya himself, the earliest king of this name in Pañcanada was Antialcidas, the son of Menander. We have therefore to take it that it was this Antialcidas who is referred to in the Besnagar pillar, and that Bhāgabhadra was his contemporary.

Evidently, Buddhapriya has refused to take Antialcidas, the Yavana Mahārāja who sent an envoy to Bhāgabhadra as the son of Menander, on the ground that the local satrap of Paṇḍarapura (modern Besnagar) must have proclaimed his independence not long after the disintegration of the Maurya empire, and that the life of the kingdom founded by him was terminated by the first Śuṅga king. For the same reasons, Buddhapriya has attempted the identification of Sudhanvan, the Śuṅga king who is said to have defeated Bhāgabhadra, with Subrahmā, the first Śuṅga king, Puṣyamitra as he is called in the Purāṇas. It is, however, not impossible that the local governor remained loyal to the Śuṅgas in the time of Puṣyamitra, and set himself up as an independent ruler at a time when the Śuṅga power appeared to be on the point of collapse, possibly when Agnimitra was forced to retreat and take refuge in the hills of Mahākosala. A kingdom that was established in opposition to the Śuṅgas would have cultivated friendly relations with the Yavana power in the Punjab. This kingdom, it may be

presumed, continued to exist during the last years of the reign of Menander, and in the early years of his successor, Antialcidas. When the Śuṅga power was able to reassert itself after overcoming the threats to its own existence posed by the Yavanas on the West, the Āndhras on the South and Khāravela of Kaliṅga on the East, it must have lost no time in putting an end to the existence of the kingdom of Bhāgabhadra. The name of the Śuṅga monarch who was responsible for this has not been correctly preserved in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*. 'Sudhanvan' probably stands for 'Sumitra', in which form the name of the fourth Śuṅga king, normally given as Vasumitra, also occurs in the Purāṇas. From the fact that the Yavana king Antialcidas is given the title of *Mahārāja*, while Bhagabhadra is referred to as *Rāja*, it may be justifiable to conclude that the latter was subject to the former.

It may not be out of place to refer to a detail in the inscription of Heliodorus not dealt with by Buddhapriya. Heliodorus is referred to as *yonadūta* which appears to be redundant, if interpreted as "Greek Ambassador," as it has been already stated that he came from the Yona king Aṁtalikida. In our opinion, *yona* in the compound *yona-dūta*, has to be equated with the Skt. *yauna*, and the envoy taken as one sent to arrange a matrimonial alliance between the two ruling families.

CHAPTER TEN

EARLY HISTORY OF CEYLON

According to Mahā-Buddharakṣita, the foundation of the Siṁhala kingdom, in the Island called Tāmaraparṇi in ancient times and known to the Greeks as Taprobane, was an indirect result of the incursion of Yavanas to the Indian world. In the account of Alexander given in the *Yavana-rājya-vṛttānta*, the last war which the Macedonian conqueror had to wage in India was to subdue the fierce resistance to the conqueror put up by a Kṣatriya tribe called the Grāmaṇeya, under their leader Siṁhala. As usual, the Macedonian conqueror was successful in overcoming the resistance of the local people, in this instance the Grāmaṇeyas. He was impressed by the heroism with which their leader Siṁhala defended his territories, and Alexander, ready to acknowledge valour and self-sacrifice even if they were pitted against him, entered into a treaty of friendship with Siṁhala, which provided for matrimonial alliances between the families of the leaders of the Grāmaṇeyas and the Yavanas. Siṁhala, on his part, is said to have entertained the Yavana king during the last days of the latter's stay on Indian soil, and accompanied Alexander for several days' march on his return to Babylon through the Vṛkavana desert.[1]

Those who are acquainted with the accounts of Alexander's campaigns in India, left by Greek and Roman historians, would of course reject this as invention, as it is not referred to in those authorities. Buddhapriya himself has anticipated such objection and met it with the following remarks : "The word 'Siṁhala' has not come down in Yavana books. But it has been stated by Sumaṅgala-sthavira that the word 'Grāmaṇeya' is synonymous with 'Siṁhala'. Even the word 'Grāmaṇeya' has not come down in the Yavana books; but the word 'Brāmaṇeya (Bramanoi)' has come down in them. That 'Brāmaṇeya' is an error for 'Grāmaṇeya' is the opinion of Alakṣandara, the Byzantine merchant who had come to Suvarṇnapura and was staying there. Sumaṅgala-sthavira is the pupil of Śārīputra-sthavira. It has been stated by Sumaṅgala-sthavira that the word 'Grāmaṇeya' has come down in the *Mahābhārata* as the name of a Kṣatriya clan who dwelt on the banks of the Sindhu".[2]

It will be recalled that, according to the historians of Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror, while he was traversing the areas of the lower Indus, had to meet and overcome the stiff opposition put up by the "Brahmins". A city of "Brahmins" was taken by storm and the bodies of the "Brahmins" who were

1. See above, pp. 18-19.
2. *Mahābhārata*, Critical edition, Sabhāparva, chap. 29, vv.7-8.

put to death wholesale were hung up for the kites and vultures on the roads.[3] It is of course not difficult to believe that the Brahmins, as stated by Greek historians, denounced the princes if they submitted to the foreigner. But it is very unlikely that there was a city peopled entirely by the Brahmins and that they defended it. It is also very unlikely that Alexander, whose ultimate aim was the commercial co-operation between the Yavanas and the people of India, would have mortally offended the religious feelings of the people by treating the Brahmins in the manner he is said to have done. It is therefore likely that the name in the Greek and Latin texts that has been taken to mean "Brahmans" did, in fact, originally denote the Grāmaṇeyas. Plutarch has referred to them as "philosophers." He, no doubt, had read the accounts given by Megasthenes and others about the Brāhmaṇas of India[4] and if the name "Gramaṇeya" had assumed the form "Bramanoi", he would have taken them to be Brāhmaṇas. The corruption of the reading of this name appears therefore to have crept in at an early date.

We have, however, to account for the existence, in medieval times, of a city named Brahmanabad, after the establishment of Muslim power in India. If there was "a city of Brahmins" at a later date, it may be argued, why was it not, therefore, possible for such a city to have existed in the time of Alexander ? It appears that we are confronted here, not with a corruption of the name "Gramanoi" to "Bramanoi" in the Greek texts, but the pronunciation of the initial consonant in this word as *b* in ancient times, in the speech of the people. We have the change of *k* to *p* in Pali as is exemplified by *Pakudha* for *Kakudha*, and *g* is the sonant of the same *varga* as *k* of which it is the surd. The change of *g* to *b* is known in Sinhalese; the place which is referred to as *Guttahāla* in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[5] is called Buttala at present. It is therefore not impossible that in actual speech, the word *Grāmaṇeya* was pronounced in the fourth century B.C., with the initial consonant approximating to the sound of *b*, and that the Greek writers who accompanied Alexander took down the name as it was actually pronounced by the people, and not as it occurs in literature. The account given in the *Yrv.* of Alexander's encounter with the Grāmaṇeyas should not therefore be brushed aside unceremoniously.

If we give credence to the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, Siṁhala proved true to his oath of allegiance to Alexander, even to the extent of leaving the dominion of his ancestors. When Candragupta, after bringing the Pañcanada country under his authority, arrived in the Sindhu country in pursuit of Alexander, overpowered Siṁhala who was in command there and captured that territory, Siṁhala spurned

3. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 339, and the authorities quoted in footnotes 1 to 3.
4. Megasthenes, Fragment 40=Strabo, xv, c. 711f.
5. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. xxv, v.6.

Candragupta's offer to continue to be ruler of Sindhu as a feudatory of Magadha. Instead, he went in person to Bāveru (Babylon), and sent an appeal to Calukya Nikatora (Seleucus Nicator) to come to his aid and preserve the Yavana sovereignty over Sindhu. Calukya Nikatora came himself with his forces to the Sindhu country, defeated Candragupta's general who was stationed there and entrusted the government of that region to Siṁhala. In order to cement the political alliance with Siṁhala, he bestowed on Siṁhala the hand of his sister who had accompanied him from Syria. Having thus settled the affairs of the Sindhu country, Seleucus Nicator advanced to the Suvarṇnakuḍya country in pursuit of Candragupta, where as we have seen in Chapter IV, disaster overtook him.[6] Siṁhala, on learning what had taken place, and realizing that he had no right to expect liberal treatment from Candragupta, left the Sindhu country, accompanied by his newly wedded Greek spouse, and such of his retinue as were prepared to follow him to unfamiliar lands in quest of fortune there. He arrived in the Puṇḍra country, wrested the sovereignty of that region from the family that was exercising it then, and continued to be the ruler of the Puṇḍra kingdom (in South Kanara with the port of Mangalore as its centre) until he died.

Muruṇḍa Śiva, the son of Siṁhala born of the Greek princess who was the sister of Seleucus Nicator, left the Puṇḍra country and came to the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi, He wrested the sovereignty of Tāmraparṇṇi from the family which was then having dominion over it, and established his rule in that Island. He was thus the founder of the Sinhalese royal family in the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi. Though not referred to as Siṁhala, Muruṇḍa Śiva himself was entitled to that epithet, as he was the head of the Grāmaṇeya clan. According to one account, it was Siṁhala himself who, after having established himself as ruler of the Puṇḍra country, came to the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi and wrested it from those who were then exercising dominion over it.

The *Rājavaṁśapustaka* does not give the name of the royal family that was exercising dominion over Tāmraparṇṇi when Muruṇḍa Śiva arrived in this Island. It does not also claim for Muruṇḍa Śiva the honour of introducing the arts of civilization into this Island. The *Paramparāpustaka* gives this honour to a merchant named Siṁhala, son of Pūrṇṇa who is said to have come to the Puṇḍra country from the region of the mouth of the Indus. His son Siṁhala came to Tāmraparṇṇi and became the founder of the first royal dynasty in Ceylon. According to some accounts, it was the merchant Pūrṇṇa himself who came from Suppāraka and introduced civilization to Ceylon. The second chapter of the *Paramparāpustaka* gives an account of the merchant Pūrṇṇa, which has not yet been read in full. From what has been read, this account has much

6. See above, pp. 45 ff.

in common with the story of Siṁhala as given in the *Divyāvadāna*[7], so that one appears to have been copied from the other. In the *Divyāvadāna*, Siṁhala comes from a mythical city called Siṁhakalpā, whereas in the *Pp.*, he comes from Suppāraka. In the *Divyāvadāna*, Siṁhala being Bodhisatva in a previous birth, the events narrated in the story are held as having taken place in the remote past. In the *Pp.*, the merchant Pūrṇṇa is said to have lived at the same time as the Buddha, and been a brother of the disciple of the same name.[8]

The Grāmaṇeyas, the leader of which Kṣatriya clan had the right to the appellation of Siṁhala, appear as the heirs of the people who created the civilization now referred to as Harappan by historians and archaeologists. This tribe, it is said, originally occupied a region neighbouring the confluence of the Sindhu with Śatahrada (Sutlej), but was forced to move southwards owing to the invasion of that region by Cyrus. Darius (Dhārayatuvasu) is said to have attempted unsuccessfully to oust them from the delta of the Sindhu. When force failed to wrest this strategic region from the Grāmaṇeyas, he is said to have offered a satrapy to Siṁhala, who did not succumb to the temptation. Xerxes (Kṣayārṣa) and Artaxerxes (Artakṣayārṣa) also, it is said, tried to dislodge the Grāmaṇeyas from the mouth of the Indus, but they defended their homesteads against the might of the King of Kings.

The migration of Siṁhala and his followers from the Sindhu country did not result in the total disappearance of these Kṣatriyas from that region. Some remained behind, preserving their ancient customs and traditions. Mahā-Buddharakṣita, during his sojourn in the Pañcanada country, paid a visit to the Grāmaṇeyas, and had conversations with the members of the clan as well as their ruler. This chief assured Buddharakṣita that the founder of his family was named Siṁhala. He also stated that the story of a previous chief of the clan who fought with Alexander, later became friendly with the Macedonian conqueror, and subsequently migrated to the Puṇḍra country, was not only known to many members of the clan, but was also recorded in the written history of the clan (*Paramparāpustaka*). It was also known that the son of this Siṁhala migrated to the Tāmraparṇṇi Island and became the founder of the dynasty which ruled that Island. Buddharakṣita has also referred to the prevalence, in his time, among the Grāmaṇeya Kṣatriyas, of the myth of a lion cohabiting with a princess, and begetting the founder of the clan. The sister of this original Siṁhala, who is referred to in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as the Western Queen (Pacchimarājinī)[9], received honour from the Grāmaṇeyas, together with the eponymous hero. The chief

7. Edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, pp. 523 ff.
8. For Pūrṇṇa, the disciple of the Buddha, see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. Puṇṇa.
9. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. 10, v. 89.

of the clan appears to have been referred to by the equivalent of *mahāpramukha*. A copy of the history of the Grāmaṇeyas, referred to above, which was written in the Sindhi language, was brought to Ceylon by Mahā-Buddharakṣita-Sthavira, and deposited in the library of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, together with a Sanskrit translation thereof.[10]

We have given in Chapter VI an account of the attempt made by Bindusāra to get Siṁhala, who had taken the side of the Yavanas, into his power. The *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, in fact, states that the purpose of Bindusāra in the campaign that he ordered his general, Śastra Dramiḍa, to undertake in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, was to capture Siṁhala or his son. The intervention of superhuman forces, it is said, thwarted the designs of the Maurya emperor, and Muruṇḍa Śiva took full advantage of the situation by making himelf the overlord of the Cola and Pāṇḍya countries, in addition to Puṇḍra. Bindusāra is said to have recognized these territories as dependencies of the empire of Tāmraparṇṇi-dvīpa. The statement that Cola and Pāṇḍya were dependencies of Ceylon in the time of Bindusāra gains support from the mention in the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* of three umbrellas of state called Andha (Āndhra), Cola and Sīhala (Siṁhala) possessed by Devānampiya Tissa, the contemporary of Asoka.[11] As there is no mention of Āndhra as a dependency of Tāmraparṇṇidvīpa in the account given in the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, we may be justified in taking *Andha* to be an error for *Paṇḍu*. Muruṇḍa Śiva is said to have reigned for twenty-six years. The name Muruṇḍa Śiva is phonetically equivalent to "Muṭasiva". 'Muruṇḍa' would have acquired the form 'Muḍa'" through "Muruḍa" in the Old Siṁhalese language. In the time when the chronicles *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa* were written, a *ḍ* developed from ṭ was a common feature in the language, for example *kaḍa* for *kaṭa* (Skt. *kṛta*).[12] Mistaking that the *ḍ* in '*Muḍa*' was of similar origin, the word had been restored to Pali as 'Muṭa', though this word is nowhere else found as a component in a proper name, and cannot be intelligibly interpreted.

Puṇḍraka Abhaya, the son of Muruṇḍa Śiva, succeeded to the kingdoms of Puṇḍra and Tāmraparṇṇi, and reigned for thirty-seven years. It was this king who founded Anurādhapura. The seat of royalty in Tāmraparṇṇi, before the foundation of Anurādhapura, has not been mentioned in our sources. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the building of Anurādhapura has been credited to Paṇḍukābhaya.[13] In view of this common achievement and the similarity, amounting almost to identity, of the two names, Puṇḍraka Abhaya may be taken to be the same as Paṇḍukābhaya of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The epithet Puṇḍra in our source takes the place of Paṇḍu in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. In the *Dīpavaṁsa*, however, this monarch is referred to as "Pakuṇḍaka", a word which occurs nowhere else, and of which the significance is not known.[14] "Paṇḍuka" in the name "Paṇḍukābhaya" of the *Mahāvaṁsa* appears therefore as the result of giving a familiar form to an appellation of which the significance was not understood, and which by its uncouth form, did not recommend itself to the chronicler as fit to be applied to a national hero. We cannot be certain that "Puṇḍraka" is the genuine form that has given rise to "Pakuṇḍaka" and "Paṇḍuka"; it is not impossible that "Puṇḍraka" itself is due to the same reason as that which gave rise to "Paṇḍuka".

10. These details are taken from the account of the establishment of the Sinhalese kingdom given by Mahā-Buddharakṣita in his *Rājavaṁśapustaka* incised on the inscription of Kalyāṇavati at Ruvanvälisäya, Anurādhapura.

11. P.T.S. Edition, p. 164; See also *Kāvyaśekhara*, canto XV, v. 15, which refers to the three white unbrellas of Devānampiya Tissa (*sēsat tuna ma naṁvā*)

12. See *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, p. lxxxvi, Rule lxxxii, para. 291.

13. Chapter X, vv. 73ff.

In its account of the building of Anurādhapura, the *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to a Yonasabhāgavatthu[15], which formed a feature of the city. This term can be explained as "the common dwelling place of the Yonas, i.e. the Yavanas". The continuation of the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa* has it that, in the planning of the city of Anurādhapura, a special place was set apart for the Yavana merchants. The arrival of Greek merchants in the time that Anurādhapura was founded, is not attested from other sources, but as there were diplomatic relations between the Maurya empire and the Greek world, it is not impossible that some Greek merchants found their way to Ceylon from the ports in Sindh. It is not impossible that there was direct intercourse between Ceylon and Egypt also at that time.

It will be seen that Muruṇḍa Śiva (Muṭa Siva) and Puṇḍraka Abhaya (Paṇḍukābhaya) have changed places in our documents. We have no means of deciding which of the two traditions has preserved the true position. In the *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa*, Muṭasiva is given a reign of sixty years and his father, Paṇḍukābhaya, of seventy years.[16] It is agreed by all modern students of history that the regnal periods of these two monarchs are inordinately long. It is therefore significant that our sources give a reign of only twenty-six years to Muruṇḍa Śiva and thirty-seven to Puṇḍraka Abhaya. The figures given in the Pali chronicles for the reigns of these two monarchs were probably due to a misreading of the words indicating numerals in the original Sinhalese source from which the chroniclers derived their material. The number thirty-seven given as the length in years of the reign of Puṇḍraka Abhaya would have been *sata-tisa* in Old Sinhalese. If the last letter had been inadvertently omitted in *sata-tisa*, the reading *satati* (seventy) would be the result. We may take it that it was by this process that Paṇḍukābhaya has been enjoying a reign of seventy years

14. Chapter V, v. 69 and 78; chapter XI, v. 2, 12; the form Pakuṇḍa without the suffix *ka* occurs in XI, 1.

15. Chapter X, v. 90.

16. *Dīpavaṁsa*, chap. XI, vv. 4 and 5; *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. X, v. 106; chap. XI, v. 4.

during a period of over a millenium and a half.

Puṇḍraka Abhaya's son was Tiṣya who succeeded his father as ruler of Tāmraparṇṇi and Puṇḍra. Tiṣya was an unseen friend of (i.e. he had diplomatic relations with) King Dharmmāśoka, the grandson of Candragupta, and reigned for twenty-seven years. There is no doubt that Tiṣya mentioned here is the same as Devānampiya Tissa of the Pali chronicles according to which also he was "an unseen friend" of the Moriya emperor.[17] Our document does not mention any other event of the reign of Tiṣya. The establishment of the Buddha-śāsana, according to our document, occurred in the reign of Uttiya, the younger brother and successor of Tiṣya. Our document also differs from the Pali chronicles in stating that Tiṣya reigned for twenty-seven years only. The Pali chronicles state that his reign lasted for forty years.[18]

Our document agrees with the Pali chronicles in stating that Uttiya was the younger brother of Tiṣya. Uttiya welcomed Mahāmahendra-sthavira, the younger brother of Dharmmāśoka, to Ceylon, and established the religion of the Buddha in the Island of Ceylon. In stating that Mahāmahendra-sthavira (Mahinda-thera) was the younger brother of Dharmmāśoka, our documents agree with the Sanskrit writings of Northern Buddhists. Instead of the ten years which the Pali chronicles give to Uttiya as ruler,[19] our document states that his reign lasted for sixteen years.

In spite of the enthusiastic welcome which Uttiya gave to Mahāmahendra-sthasvira, his relations with Dharmmāśoka, if we are to give credence to Document No. XXIII, did not remain friendly to the end. We are told that King Dharmmāśoka sent a request to Uttiya to grant the kingdom of Puṇḍra to his son Kunāla. Uttiya did not take heed of this request. Thereupon, King Dharmmāśoka is said to have sent his general, named Mahāriṣṭa, with the necessary forces, to capture the Puṇḍra country. Mahāriṣṭa successfully carried out his task, installed Kunāla as ruler of Puṇḍra, returned to Pāṭaliputra and reported to Dharmmāśoka what he had done. Dharmmāśoka, evidently, was in no need of a territory for his son. He was pleased with Mahāriṣṭa for the successful carrying out of his orders, and gave the kingdom of Puṇḍra to that general. Mahāriṣṭa remained ruler of Puṇḍra and Uttiya, apparently, did not think it feasible to make an attempt to capture it back from the general of Dharmmāśoka before he died, and was succeeded by his son Mahāśīva. It shoud be noted that the Pali chronicles refer to Mahāśīva as a younger brother, not son, of Uttiya. Mahāriṣṭa was not content with the kingdom of Puṇḍra. He invaded the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi with his forces, defeated Mahāśīva and captured the throne of

17. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. XI, v. 19.
18. *Dīpavaṁsa*, chap. XVII, v. 92; *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. XX, v. 28.
19. *Dīpavaṁsa*, chap. XVIII, v. 93; *Mahāvamsa* chap. XX, v. 57.

Tāmraparṇṇi. He continued to rule Tāmraparṇṇi and Puṇḍra from Anurādhapura. Mahāśīva, who had lost both Puṇḍra and Tāmraparṇṇi, is said to have taken refuge in Suvarṇṇapura, where he died.

Elāra, the son of Mahāriṣṭa, succeeded his father as king of Puṇḍra and Tāmraparṇṇi, and reigned for forty-four years before he was defeated, and the sovereignty of Tāmraparṇṇi recovered for the Grāmaṇeya dynasty by Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇī Abhaya (Duṭṭhagāmaṇī). Document No. xxii states that this Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇī was the sixth in descent from Mahāśīva who took refuge in Suvarṇṇapura and recovered Tāmraparṇṇi with the help of forces given him by the king of Suvarṇṇapura.

If we accept as trustworthy, the account given above, of the political relations between Uttiya and Dharmmāśoka the great Maurya emperor is seen in a light somewhat different from that in which he appears from his edicts. It was probably towards the end of his reign that he ordered a general of his to capture the Puṇḍra country from the Siṁhala king. This was subsequent to the Kaliṅga war, after which Asoka is considered to have altogether given up conquest by force of arms. But the wording of the thirteenth rock edict itself, though it extolled conquest by morality (*dhamma-vījaya*) above other policies, does not imply that military action would not be resorted to in any circumstances whatsoever. In what is known as the borderers' edict (second separate rock edict), Asoka declares that "Devānampriya will forgive them (i.e. the borderers) what can be forgiven."[20] This statement implies that there were some things which could not be forgiven, and in such cases, punitive military measures were no doubt resorted to. The ruler of the Puṇḍra kingdom must have been considered by Asoka as one of his borderers, and there were perhaps imperative reasons for Asoka to have adopted the course of action that he took with reference to Puṇḍra and Uttiya. If, for instance, those who were entrusted with the government of Puṇḍra by Uttiya themselves carried out piracy on the high seas, or harboured pirates, in a manner detrimental to the interests of peaceful subjects in Asoka's dominions, there was justification for Asoka's action. Probably Asoka himself was no more when his general Mahāriṣṭa, or the son of the latter, deprived Uttiya's son of the sovereignty over Tāmraparṇṇi.

Elāra, mentioned in Document No. XXII as having ruled Tāmraparṇṇi, for forty-four years,[21] and been defeated in the end by Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇī, is no doubt the same as Elāra, the Tamil king of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. In this particular document, neither Elāra nor his father Mahāriṣṭa is referred to as a Dramiḍa (the Sanskrit, equivalent of P. *Damiḷa*), but in an explanatory note we are informed that Mahāriṣṭa who was sent by Dharmmāśoka to wrest the Puṇḍra kingdom from

20. E. Hultizsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 68—70 and 100.
21. As regards the length of Elāra's reign, our document is in agreement with the Pali chronicles.

Uttiya, was a son of Śastra Dramiḍa, the general who commanded Bindusāra's army that conquered the Dakṣiṇāpatha. This general, we are informed, was a Parthian, and the name "Dramiḍa" was that of one of the five tribes which constituted the Parthian people. Originally, it is said, the Parthian word which has been Sanskritized as "Dramiḍa" was applied to the chiefs of different sections of the tribe, but in course of time, the word was extended in use to any member of the tribe, just as the title "Muruṇḍa" of the chiefs of the Śakas, was extended in application to any one of the Śaka people.

The Parthians are referred to, by the name Pārthava, in the inscriptions of Darius as a people subject to the Persian King of Kings.[22] After the fall of the Persian empire, Parthian chiefs, who were dexterous horsemen and archers, would have taken service as mercenaries under the rulers of kingdoms which rose on the ruins of that empire, and Śastra Dramiḍa was probably an adventurer who found employment under Bindusāra. Not long after the reign of Bindusāra, the Parthians themselves were destined to found an empire which maintained itself against the Seleucids and the Romans for about four centuries.

The great Parthian empire of history was founded by the tribe called the Parṇṇi. We are informed by Mahā-Buddharakṣita-Sthavira, that the tribe known as the Dramiḍas fought with the Parṇṇi and were driven to the eastern borders of Persia, where in the region known as Seistan (Sakastana), because it was occupied by the Śaka people before the advent of the Dramiḍas, they founded their own kingdom, known to historians as the Indo-Parthian kingdom. The ruler whose name occurs as Azes in Greek letters on his coins, and is called Aya in Prakrit inscriptions, was a scion of this Dramiḍa royal family.[23] We have seen above in chapter IX, that this Azes, called Ajayya in Sanskrit, captured Takṣaśilā and ruled that kingdom for some years until his death, and was succeeded by his son, whose name is given in Sanskrit as Ajayyaileya. The two names Ajayya and Ajayyaileya are given by Mahā-Buddharakṣita in his Old Sinhalese text as Aja and Aja Ilaya. The second name may be rendered as 'Aja the younger'. The second part of the compound name Ajayyaileya, i.e. Aileya, is that which is given in Pali as Elāra or Elāla. The last syllable in the form Elāra is the termination of the nominative singular in Tamil. The last syllable in the form Elāla was due to the change of *y* to *l*. Azes and Azilises lived about two centuries after Elāla, but were members of the same ethnic group of which Elāla was a scion. The Dramiḍa tribe must have been known by some other name before the honorific appellation of its chiefs was extended to the whole tribe. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Elāra is called *Ujujātiko*[24], which may be interpreted to mean "of the

22. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 577.
23. See above, pp. 105-6

Uju tribe"[24]. *Uju* is the equivalent of *Ṛju* in Sanskrit, which can also assume the form *Aja* through an intermediate **Aju*. It appears possible therefore that the name given as Azes in Greek letters on the coins of this monarch was in fact the name of the tribe which was used as a personal name. The chief of a tribe is often referred to by the name of his tribe.[24] It may be mentioned here that the Parthians spoke a North Iranian language closely akin to Sanskrit, and the Dramiḍas therefore were of the Indo-European or Aryan linguistic group, as much as the Siṁhalas were. That the original Dramiḍas, from whom the name was adopted by those who bear it now, were a white people, is indicated by the name Veḷḷāḷar, meaning "White People", borne by the highest caste among the present day Tamils. The reason for the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and the *Mahābhārata* to mention the Dramiḍas in the company of the Śakas, the Pahlavas and other western people is now clear, and the writers of these books need not be accused, as Bishop Caldwell has done, of unreasonably grouping a South Indian people with tribes of foreign origin who lived in the north-west of ancient India[25].

According to the tradition recorded in the Pali chronicles of Ceylon, Elāra came to this Island from the Cola country, and wrested the sovereignty from Asela, a brother of Devānampiya Tissa who had driven out two Tamil leaders named Sena and Guttika[26]. Our document has it that Elāla was the son of Mahāriṣṭa who had come to the Island of Tāmraparṇṇi from the Puṇḍra country and gained the dominion over Ceylon by defeating Mahāśīva, son of Uttiya, the younger brother of Devānampiya Tissa. We have no means at our disposal of judging as to which of these two traditions is to be preferred. It is given in an explanatory note that there were two rulers named Mahāriṣṭa, father and son, and that Elāra was the son of the second of these. One name had been dropped out by copyists in the manuscript from which the passage had been taken to be engraved on the stone. It is therefore likely that it was Mahāriṣṭa the Second who conquered Tamraparṇṇi and established Dramiḍa supremacy in the Island.

According to Document No. XXII, Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇī Abhaya, who defeated Elāra, was the sixth lineal descendant of Mahāśīva, who fled to Suvarṇṇapura when he was defeated by Mahāriṣṭa. Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇī is said to have come to Tāmraparṇṇi with an army supplied him by the king of Suvarṇṇapura.

In a document which is meant to establish that Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe was the continuator of the Sinhalese royal line, reference is made to the statement in the *Dhātuvaṁsa* that Kākavarṇṇatiṣya sent his son Abhaya to Girinagara

24. Chap. XXI, v. 13, Geiger has translated *Ujujātika* as 'of noble descent'. *Uju*(Skt. *ṛju*) means 'upright' The stories about Elāra's impartial justice must have arisen due to the name of his tribe.
25. R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, London, 1913, p. 4
26. *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. XXI, v. 13.

in the company of a minister named Jāva (Dāva).[27] According to Bhadrasthavira, the author of the *Paramparāpustaka*, Girinagara was a name of Suvarṇṇapura. The name Giridvīpa in the *Mahāvaṁsa* stands for Samudradvīpa. In the Laṁkāvatāra-sūtra also, the name Giridvīpa occurs as a name of Samudradvīpa. It is stated in the *Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśa* that Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇī Abhaya, when he was in a despondent state after the war with the Dramiḍas, was consoled by Arahats who came from Suvarṇṇapura.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* Elara lost his life in the memorable single combat with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. But, according to our document No. XXIII, Elāra fled to Suvarṇṇapura when he was defeated by Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇī Abhaya and ended his life there. His son's son, named Śastra Dramiḍa, came to Ceylon with an army given by the king of Suvarṇṇapura, and wrested the throne of Ceylon from Vṛttagrāmaṇī Abhaya and reigned for seventeen years in Anurādhapura. Vṛttagrāmaṇī Abhaya, on his part, went to Suvarṇṇapura, returned with an army given him by the king of that land, and captured back the sovereignty of Ceylon from Śastra Dramiḍa.

These pieces of information are given without any comments. The reader may form his own conclusions about them.

27. *Dhātuvaṁsa*, edited by S. Sri Sumadhamkaraswami, Colombo, 1930, pp. 32-33. The name of the minister is given as 'Dāva' in Sinhalese; *Dāva* can be the equivalent of Skt. *Jāvaka*.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

from which the texts have been read

I Slab inscription in the Northern Dāgäba area originally meant for an inscription of Mahendra VI, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, No. 20, Plate 29 (left).

II Slab from "Vessagiri"; original inscription dated in 10th year of Mahinda IV. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, Plate 10.

III Slab Inscription from Rambäva, now in Anurādhapura Museum, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, Plate 12.

IV Pillar Inscription at the Eastern Gate of Citadel, Anurādhapura, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V., Plate No. 40.

V Pillar Inscription from Mirisaväṭi Dāgäba area now in Anurādhapura Museum, unpublished.

VI Mayilagastoṭa Pillar Inscription, now in Colombo Museum, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, Plate 11.

VII Pillar containing a ninth century inscription and a *gāvuta* proclamation of Niśśaṁkamalla from Mäḍilla near Rambäva in the Hambantoṭa District, unpublished.

VIII Slab Inscription of Niśśaṁkamalla, fragment from Rambhā Vihāra in the Hambantoṭa District, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, Plate No. 53.

IX Slab Inscription of Niśśaṁkamalla from Vāňduruppe Vihāra in the Hambantoṭa District, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, No. 54.

X Slab from Bōlāna in the Hambantoṭa District, now in the Colombo Museum, *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, Plate II.

XI Slab from Aturupolagama in Demaḷa Hatpattu, Puttalam District, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, Plate No. 47.

XII Elleväva (Vēragala) Pillar Inscription of Dappula IV, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V. Plate No. 45.

XIII Inscription of Udaya II's reign on pillar at left of the flight of steps leading to Bō-maḷuwa at Paňḍuvas-nuvara, No. 21 of 1962.

XIV Inscription on pillar, No. 23 of 1962, at Paňḍuvas-nuvara.

XV Slab containing Inscription of Vilgammuḷa Mahāsāmi at Kitsirimevan Kälaṇi in the Colombo District.

XVI Slab which contained inscription of tenth century found in the vicinity of Anurādhapura, now preserved in the Anurādhapura Museum, numbered M111, unpublished.

XVII Slab from Nāmal Oya in the Ampāre District, now preserved in the Ampāre Museum.

XVIII Inscribed pillar from an ancient site now called Pranāndu-amuṇa and now preserved in the Ampāre Museum.

LOCATION OF THE TEXTS

The Roman numerals refer to the sections of the Texts. The Arabic numericals refer to the numbers of the Inscriptions in the above list :

I—No. 6, Side A, from top. II—No. 2, lines running from top to bottom on right side. III—No. 6, Side A, 10 ft. 1.75 in. from top. IV—No. 6, Side A 2 ft. 4.25 in. from top. V—No. 7, Side A, 8.5 in. from top. VI—No. 6, 2 ft. 3.12 in. from top. VII—No. 6, 2 ft. 2.12 in. from top. VIII—No. 17, 9 in. from left side, top now preserved. IX—No. 17, 1 ft. 1.75 in. from top, left side as now preserved. X—No. 6, side A, 2 ft. 10.75 in. from top. XI—No. 187, 9.5 in. from top. XII—No. 17, 1 ft. 2.25 in. from top. XIII—No. 13, side C, from top. XIV—No. 11, Side B, 9.75 in. from top. XV—No. 6, 1 ft. 10.87 in. from top. XVI—No. 17, 10 in. from top, as preserved. XVII—No. 17, 11 in. from top. XVIIa—No 18, Side D, from top; written at different places in letters of various types and sizes. XVIII—No. 17, 1 ft. 1.25 in. from top. XIX.—No. 12, Side D, 1 ft. 6.25 from top. XX—No. 6, Side A, 3 ft. 10 in. from top. XXI—No. 6, Side A, 1 ft. 1 in. from top. XXII—No. 6, Side A, .25 in. from top. XXIII—1 ft. 8.62 in. from top.

SANSKRIT TEXTS

I. Yavanarajyavrttanta; its Author and its Sources

Yavanarājyavṛttāntam Buddhapriyācāryeṇa viracitam. Buddhapriyācāryas tu Suvarṇṇapurād āgat-Ānanda-sthavirasya śiṣyaḥ. Ānanda-sthavirasya jyeṣṭha-śiṣyas tu Vaidehasthaviro Rasavāhiṇyāś ca Samantakūṭavarṇanasya ca kartā. Buddhapriyasthaviras tu Nāgapaṭṭanavihārasthaviro bhūtvā sthitvā Rūpasiddhin nāma Pālivyākaraṇaśāstraṁ kṛtvā Pulastipuram prāpya Parākramabāhurājena kṛte Jetavanavihāre sthitvā Padyamadhun nāma Pālikāvyaṁ kṛtvā apare kāle Suvaraṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya śiṣyas tu Buddhamitrasthaviras tasya śiṣyas tu Mahākāśyapasthaviraḥ. Svasti. Yavana-rājyās tu Mahālakṣandararājena pratiṣṭhāpitamahārājyasya pradeśā iti Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Paramparāpustakan tu Bhadrasthavireṇa viracitam. Bhadrasthaviras tu Suvarṇṇapurasthavirasya śiṣyah. Suvarṇṇapurasthaviras tu Suvarṇṇapurarājye saṁghasya pradhānasthaviraḥ. Suvarṇṇapurarājyas tu Śrīvijayarājya iti ca prasiddhaḥ. Suvarṇṇapurarājyas tu Sumatradvīpe sthitaḥ.

Yavanarājyās tu Dhīmitrarājena pratiṣṭhāpita iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu Yavanarājyam prāpya sthitvā punar āgamy Ābhayagirivihāre sthitvā Mahā-Buddharakṣitasthavireṇa Mahāsenarājyasamaye viracitam. Mahāsenarājas tu Jetavanavihārasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā. Jetavanavihāras tu Anurādhapure Mahāvihārasya pratipakṣo bhūtvā sthitvā Parākramabāhurājena nikāyasāmāgrīṅkṛta-samaye vināśita iti paramparāyātavṛttāntam.

Svasti. Buddhapriyācāryasyāparaś śiṣyas tu Dharmmaskandhasthaviras tasya śiṣyas tu Dharmmaskandhasthaviras tasya śiṣyas tu Dharmmaskandhasthaviras tasya śiṣyas tu Dharmmaskandhasthaviras samprati Jambudroṇipure sthitvā dharmmavinayaṁ śikṣāpayati.

Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe tu Yavana-mahārājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā Mahālakṣandararāja iti vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu Suvarṇṇapurarājena Purandareṇa Buddhavarṣe saptasaptatyadhikasaptaśatame Mahāsenarājasamaye viracitam iti Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttane vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttanan tu Mānābharaṇamahārājena viracitam. Mānābharaṇamahārājas tu Samaravijayottuṅgamahārājasya putraḥ. Samaravijayottuṅgamahārājas tu Rājendracolena Suvarṇṇapuraṅ gṛhītasamaye Yavadvīparājyam prāpya sthitvā Rajendracolena Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya duhitary apahṛtavatyāṁ Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya Rājendracolam mārayitvā Suvarṇṇapurarājyaṁ svarājyaṁ kṛtvā Suvarṇṇapurarājyasya balaṁ gṛhītvā Laṁkādvīpam prāpya Suvarṇṇamalaye sthitaṁ Senaputra-Kāśyapam āhūya tena sārdham Anurādhapuram prāpya tatra sthita-Colabalam palāpayitvā 'nurādhapurarājyaṅ gṛhītvā 'nurādhapurarājyaṁ svarājyaṁ kṛtvā Kāśyapa-bhrātṛ-Senam Mahātīrthe sthāpayitvā Senaputra-Mahendram

Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam preṣitvā Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalaṅ gṛhītvā Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṁ svarājye sthāpitvā Pāṇḍyarājyaṁ svarājyaṁ kṛtvā Sundara-Pāṇḍya-putram Anurādhapure sthāpitvā Sena-putra-Kaśyapasyā 'nurādhapurarājyan datvā Sena-putra-Mahendrasya mahādipādasthānan datvā Suvarṇṇamalaye sthitasya Maudagalyāyanasya Rohaṇa Ādipāda-sthānaṁ datvā pañcavarṣāṇy Anurādhapure rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā Suvarṇṇapurarājyam prāpya Tāmraliṅgarājyasthita-Colabalam palāpayitvā Jāvarājyam Purandarasya datvā Suvarṇṇapure Mahārājyam prāpya pañcapañcāśad varṣāṇi Suvarṇṇapurarājyañ ca saptatriṁśadvarṣāṇi mahārājyañ ca kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putras tu Mānābharaṇaḥ.

Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttane tu Yavanarājyānām purāvṛttāni na vyākhyātāni. Mānābharaṇarājasya samaye tu Yavanarājyāni nāmamātrabhūtāni. Samudraguptarājena vijitya svarājye 'ntarhitānīti Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttane vyākhyātam. Samudraguptarājas tu Buddhavarṣe saptanavutyadhikasaptaśatame rājyam prāpya saptacatvāriṁśad varṣāni rājyaṁ kṛtvā mṛta iti Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttane vyākhyātam.

Yavanamahārājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā tu Mahālakṣandararāja iti ca Dhīmitrarājas tu Pañcanadarājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā iti ca Pañcanadarājyas tu Yavanamahārājyasya pradeśa it ca tasmāt Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya ca Rājavaṁśapustakasya ca virodhan nāstī ti ca Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitena Rūmavāṇijen Ālakṣandaranāmenoktam.

Rāmavāṇijālakṣandaras tu Samara-Vijayottuṅga mahārājasya pañcapañcāśadvarṣe Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthithvā Mānābharaṇamahārājasya caturthe varṣe Kustantinapuram pratyagamat.

II. Greek Kingdoms before Alexander

Yavanarājyānām pratiṣṭhāpayitāro bahavo'bhavann iti ca Harikulya-nāma-vīrasya paramparānuyātaiś ca Pārśva-nāma-vīrasya paramparānuyātaiś ca Gomārakaver Ilyannāma-mahākāvye varṇitavīrāṇām paramparānuyātaiś ca Yavanarājyāḥ pratiṣṭhāpitā iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Paścātkāle bahavo Yavanarājyāḥ purarājyā bhūtvā sthitvā Pāraśikamahārājyasya vaśam prayātāḥ. Pāraśikamahārājyasya sambandhena Yavanapurarājyānāṁ vāṇijyaṁ vṛddhiprāptam. Hastināpurarājyaś ca Spārtapurarājyaś ca tayoḥ sahāyabhūtarājyaiḥ sārdhaṁ svayamparamau sthitau.

Pāraśika-rājarāje Kṣayārṣa-nāmni Parasamudre Yavanarājyāni vijayituṁ samprāpte bahubhir Yavanarājyais tasya vaśe sthātum pratijñā pradattā. Hastināpurarājyena ca Spārtapurarājyena ca tathā pratijña na pradattā. Tasmādd = Hastināpuraṅ gṛhītum āyāntī Pāraśika-mahāsenā parvatadvayor antare patitam margam avarudhya sthitān pañcaśatapramāṇān Spāratapure bhaṭān sarvān hatvā Hastināpuram prāpya tatra sthitayā Yavanasenayā 'bhiyudhya tām parājayya Hastināpuram agrahīt. Kṣayārṣo rājarājo Hastināpure prāsādāṁś ca devakulāṁś ca agnisātkartum ājñām pradāya svasenayā sārdhaṁ Spārtapuram prayātuṁ saṁvidhānāni kurvan sthitaḥ. Hastināpure janās teṣāṁ senāpatinā Sraviṣṭhakalyena coditāḥ Salamis-nāma-dvīpam prāpya tatra sthitvā yuddham pravartayāmāsuḥ. Pāraśikasamudrabalaṁ Yavanasamudrabalena parājitam iti śrutvā Kṣayārṣo rājarājaḥ savasenāyā bhāgaṁ Vardhananāmasvasenāpateḥ pradāya Spārtapurarājyena yuddhaṁ kartun tam ādiśya mahāsenayā sārdhaṁ svayaṁ Viśvapuram pratyagamat.

Vardhanas tu Hastināpure janānāṁ sandeśam prāhiṇot Pāraśika-rājarājasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradātum ādiśya. Hastināpure janais tathā pratijñā na pradatteti Vardhano Hastināpuram punar gṛhītvā tam puram agnisāt kṛtvā Spārtapuram abhiyātum prasthitaḥ Platayya-nāma-sthāne pravṛtta-yuddhe Yavanasaṁghasya senayā parājito mṛtaś ca. Tataḥ param Pāraśikasenā Parasamudre Yavanarājyān vihāya yātā.

Hastināpure janāḥ svarājyam pratyāgamya Parikalya-senāpatinā coditā Hastināpurarājyam mahārajyaṁ kṛtvā vāṇijyena dhanavanto bhūtvā Hastināpure prāsādāṁś ca devakulāṁś ca pūrve sthitākārād vardhayitvaudāryeṇa pratisaṁskṛtya Hastināpuraṁ punar māpayāmāsuḥ.

Tataḥ param Pāraśikarājarājasyaābhiyuktā Hastināpurasya ca Spārtapurasya ca bhedam akārayan. Tayor antare samudgataṁ yuddhaṁ saptaviṁśativarṣam pravṛttam. Tena yuddhena dvāv api rājyau nirdhanau ca balahīnau ca abhavataḥ. Tataḥ param Pārasamudre sarva eva Yavanarājyā Magadharājye Philipparājasya vaśam prayātāh. Philipparājasya putro 'lakṣandararājaḥ. Ataḥ param Alakṣandararājasya vṛttāntam pradīyate.

III. Alexander the Great

Svasti. Mahārājālakṣandaras tu Philipparājasya putraḥ. Philipparājas tv Alakṣandararājasya putraḥ. Alakṣandararājas tu Philipparājasya putraḥ. Philipparājas tv Alakṣandararājasya putraḥ. Alakṣandarājas tu Philipparājasya putraḥ. Philipparājas tv Alakṣandararājasya putraḥ. Alakṣandararājas tu Philipparājasya putraḥ. Philipparājas tv Alakṣandararājasya putraḥ. Alakṣandararājas tu Magadharājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayiteti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu (viśvasanīyam). Philipparājas tu svaputram Alakṣandarakumāram Aristātalācāryasya śilpāny adhyāpayitum pratyapādayad iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthita-Rūmavāṇij Ālakṣandareṇāpi Philipparājaḥ svaputram Alakṣandarakumāram Aristātalācāryasya śilpāny adhyāpayitum pratyapādayad iti vṛttāntaṁ satyam ity uktam. Rājavaṁśapustan tu viśvasanīyam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu viśvasanīyam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu visvaśanīyam.

Atra Magadharājyan tu Parama-Yavaneṣu sthitam Magadharājyam. Mahājambudvīpe Magadharājyan tu Buddhānām Bhagavatām dharmmasya prātur-

bhavana-rājyam. Paramayavaneṣu Magadharājyan tu Alakṣandararājasyotpatti-sthānam. Dharmarājas tu Buddhaḥ. Cakravartirājas tv Alakṣandaraḥ.

Dharmacakram munīndrasyevājñācakram mahībhujām
Dharmasthasyāstu lokasya hitāya ca sukhāya ca

Philipparājasyāgramahiṣī Candravarṇā tu Pāraśikarājye mahāśatrapasy-Ārthabhānor duhiteti ca Candravarṇā tv Alakṣandarakumāraṁ vijāyitvā maraṇam prāpteti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Philipparājas tv Alakṣandara-kumārasyāṅgalakṣaṇāni parīkṣituṁ Pāraśikarājyād āgata-Maga-brāhmaṇam ayācad iti ca Maga-brāhmaṇas tv Alakṣandara-kumārasyāṅga-lakṣaṇāni parīkṣya tasya mahārājyapratilābham vyākārṣīd iti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuram prapya sthita-Rūma-vaṇijen Ālakṣandareṇa Yavanapustakeṣu tathaiva vyākhyātam ityuktam.

Alakṣandarakumāre Hastināpuram prāpya Aristātalācāryasya Sarasvatī-maṇḍape sthitvā śilpādhyayanam pāripūrya punar āgamya Magadharājyam prāptavati Philipparājas svarājyan tasya datvā svargaṅ gata iti Rājavaṁśapustake ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe ca vyākhyātam. Svargaṅ gata iti padena mṛta ity arthaṅ gṛhītuṁ śakyam. Kintu Suvaṇṇapuram prāpya sthitena Rūmavāṇijen Ālak-ṣandara-nāmnā svargaṅ gata iti padena devakulam prāpya sthita ity arthaṅ gṛhītuṁ yuktam iti vyākhyātam. Yavana-rāje vārdhyam prāptavati devakule 'muṣmikārthañ ca sampratikārthañ ca paśyan sthitvā mriyata iti Rūmavāṇijen= Ālakṣandaranāmnoktam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśaś ea Rājavaṁśa-pustakañ ca viśva-sanīye.

Svasti. Philippa-rājasya putras tv Alakṣandara-rājaḥ Paramayavaneṣu Magadharājye sthitvā Pāraśikamahārājyaṁ vijayitukāmaḥ svarājye purāṇakāle sthitvāgata-Dyaus-Sūryya-Candra-Samudrādi-devān arcayitvā senāsaṅgra-ṇaṁ kṛtvā samudram uttīrya Ludiya-rājyam prāpya tatra sthita-Pārasik-Satrapam parājitya tam apahāya tasya sthāne sva-mitram Anantapātra-nāmā= mātyaṁ Ludiya rājyasya ca Paramayavanasya ca rakṣaṇārthan niyuñjya svabhaṭānām bhṛtin datvā tān toṣitvā svasenāpatīnāñ ca prābhṛtāni datvā tān toṣitvā Pārasikamahārājye mahāmaṇḍalarājyam prāpya tatra sthita-Dhārayatuvasu-nāma-rājarājam parājayya tam palāpitvā Pārśakaṭakapuram prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rājadhanaṁ svarājyam preṣitvā svabhaṭānām bhṛtin datvā tān toṣitvā svarṇṇarajatādyābharaṇāni ca vastrāṇi ca datvā svasenā-patīṁś ca toṣitvā hemanta-traimāsan tatra sthitvā vasantasamaye prāpte Pārśapuraṅ gatvā tatra sthita-rāja-dhanam api svarājyam preṣitvā svarṇṇa-rajatādyābharaṇāni ca ratnāni ca datvā sva senapatīṁś ca bhṛti-pradānena sva-bhaṭāṁś ca toṣitva Pāraśikarājarājasya duhitaraṁ Rocanāṁ saṁvāhya tasyām putrañ janayitvā Pāraśika-rāja-bhṛtyāṁś ca vastrābharaṇānnapāna-ratnādi-prābhṛta-dānena toṣitvā mahāmaṇḍalaṁ śamitam iti vijñapte Pāraśika-rājarājasya pradeśāny api vijayitaṁ sva-senāpatīn preṣitvā pradeśāṁś ca

vijitya Pāraśika-mahāmaṇḍalarājye sthitvā Bāverurājyam prāpya tatra sthitam Pāraśika-satrapam parājitya Bāveru-rājyañ ca Pāraśika-mahāmaṇḍalarājyasya vaśe vartayitvā Bāveru-pure sthitvā Miśara-rājyam prāpya tatra sthitam Pāraśika-satrapaṁ vijitya Miśararājyañ ca Pāraśaika-mahāmaṇḍalarājyasya vaśe vartaytvā Lakṣapuram prāpya tatra pratṣṭhāpita-maṇḍalamālake sthitvā Miśara-rājye prabhūṁś ca Miśara-rājye paṇḍitāṁś ca prābhṛtadānena toṣitvā Miśararājyasya paścimadiśābhāge pratiṣṭhitam mahā-kāntāram praviśya tatra sthitaṁ Yavana-devan Dyausnāmaṁ vanditvā tasya prasādañ ca labdhvā Lakṣapuram punar āgamya Misara-rājye sthitvā Pārśapuram punar āgamya sthitas Takṣaśilā-rājye Muruṇḍa-rājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot svarājyam Alakṣandara-rājasya datvā tasya hastāt svarājyam pratilabdhum. Takṣaśilāyām Muruṇḍa-rājas tv Alakṣandara-rājasya tat-sandeśan na pratya-grahīt. Alakṣandara-rājas Takṣaśilā-rājyam prāpya Muruṇḍa-rājena yudhaṁ kṛtvā tam parājitya Takṣaśilā-rājyan tasya pratidāya Sindhu-nadīm uttīrya Pañcanada-rājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Paurava-nāma-Muruṇḍa-rājena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā tam parājitya tasya śauryātiśayena santuṣṭas tasya rājyan tasya pratidāya Sindhu-nadyā vāma-pārśve sthitāṁ Śatahrada-nadīm prāpya tatra sthitvā Magadharājye Dhanananda-rājasya sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmano rājyam Alakṣandara-rājasya datvā tasya hastāt pratilabdhum, Magadharājye Dhananda-rājas tv Alakṣandara-rājasya pratisandeśam prāhinot svarājyam Alak-ṣandara-rājasya pradattam iti nivedya. Alakṣandara-rājas tu Magadha-rājye Dhananandarājasya svarājyam pratidāya svarājyam prāptum icchan Sindhu-nadyā vāmakūlena Calukya-Nikatoram preṣitvā dakṣiṇakūlena svayaṁ gacchann ubhayapārśve sthitāñ janapadāṁś ca kṣatriyāṁś ca vijitya Sindhu-nadī-mukhadvāram prāptas tatra sthitair Gramaṇeya-kṣatriyais sārdhaṁ yuddhaṁ kṛtvā tān parājitya teṣām pramukhasya Siṁhalasya śauryātiśayena santuṣṭas Siṁhalasya svaduhitaram pradātuṁ sandhānaṁ kṛtvā katipaya-divasāni Siṁhalena sārdham prītisambhāṣaṇāni kurvan sthitvā svarājyam prāptuṁ senayā sārdhaṁ samudramārgena prayātum Avanisukīrtasya ca Nayarājasya ca bhāraṁ kṛtvā svayaṁ sthalamārgena prayātuṁ Vṛkavana-kāntāram praveṣṭum icchan sthitaḥ. Siṁhalas tv Alakṣandara-rājasya anna-pānā-dibhis saṁgrahaṁ kurvan sthitvā katipaya-divasa-gamana-mārgam Alak-ṣandara-rājena pratigamanaṁ kṛtvā punas svarājyam prāpya sthitvā Calukya-Nikatorasya svasāraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣīṁ saṁvāhya sthitvā Puṇḍra-rājyam prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rājavaṁśan nirmūlya Puṇḍra-rājyaṅ gṛhītvā Puṇḍra-rājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā Muruṇḍa-Śiva-nāma putrañ janayitvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Muruṇḍa-Śivas tu Tāmraparṇi-dvīpam prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rāja-vaṁsan nirmūlya Tāmraparṇi-dvīpe rājyaṅ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇi-dvīpe rājyaṅ kārayan sthito' 'nurādhapuram māpayitvā saptaviṁśati varṣāṇi rajyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā[1]

1. Some words appear to have been left out here. See page 173.

mṛtah. Svasti. x x x Alakṣandara-rājas tu Vṛkavana-kāntāram praviśya tatra sthitair mleccha-janais sva-senā pīḍiteti śrutvā tais sārdhaṁ yuddhaṅ kṛtvā tān nihatya mahatā prayāsena Vṛkavana-kāntāran tartva Pārśapuram prāpya sthitvā tato Bāveru-puram prāpya sthita-samaye mahatājvara-rogeṇa spṛṣṭo mṛtaḥ.

IV. The Successors of Alexander the Great

(a) General

Svasti. Alakṣandararāje mṛte tasya senāpatayas tasya rājyaṁ vibhajyaikaikasya bhāgam uddhṛtya gṛhītum ekaika utsuko'bhavad iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe tu Calukya-Nikatorasya vṛttānam ekam eva vyākhyātam. Paramparāpustake tu Calukya-Nikatora-rājasya ca Philipparājasya ca vṛttānte vyākhyāte. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu Suvarṇṇapure rājñāṁ vṛttāntāni vyākhyātuṁ racita-pustakaṁ. Calukya-Nikatora-rājaṁ vinā'nye Yavana-rājās Suvarṇṇapure rājavaṁśasya sambandhabhūtā nābhavan. Tasmāt teṣāṁ vṛttāntāni Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe na vyākhyātānīti Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu sarvadeśīya-rājaparamparāṇāṁ vṛttāntāni vyākhyātuṁ kṛtam pustakam iti ca Paramparāpustakañ cāpi sarvadeśīya-rājaparamparānām purāvṛttāni vyākhyātuṁ kṛtam pustakam iti ca Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam.

(b) The Seleucids

Alakṣandararājasya senāpatiś Calukya-Nikatoras tu Suriyarājyañ ca Bāveru-rājyañ ca Pāraśikarājyañ ca Bāhlīkarājyañ ca Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Gandhāra-rājyañ ca Takṣaśilārājyañ ca Pañcanadarājyañ ca Sindhurājyañ ca labdhvā Candraguptarājena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā parājitas tasya Gandhārarājyañ ca Pañcanadarājyañ ca Takṣaśilārājyañ ca Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Sugdharājyañ ca svaduhitaraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣīñ ca datvā tena pradattaṁ hastibalaṅ gṛhītvā pratyāgamyepsunāmasthāne Philipparājena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā Suriyarājyam mahārājyaṁ kṛtvā saptatriṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛta iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātaṁ. Turumāya-Sotaras tu Miśararājyaṁ labdhvā sthitvā mṛta iti ca Philipparājas tu Magadharājyaṁ labdhvā rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛta iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Calukya-Nikatorasya putras tv Anantayogyas tasya putras tv Anantayogyas tasya putras tv Anantayogyas tasya putras tu Calukyas tasya putras tv Anantayogyas tasya putras tv Anantayogyas tasya putras tu Calukyas tasya putras tu Calukyas tasya rājasamaye Mitradatta-nāma-Pārthavarājas Suriyarājyam vijitya Suriyarājyam Pārthavarājyasya vaśe vartayitvā Pārthavarājyaṁ mahārājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛta iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Calukya-Nikatorasya naptā Anantayogyarājo Dharmāśokarājena mitro bhūtvā sthitvā svarājye dharman deśitum avasaram adād iti ca Maudaglīputra-

Tiṣya-sthavirasya śiṣyo Mahāmahendrasthaviras Suriyarājyam prāpya dharmman deśtivā punar āgamya sthitvā Tāmraparṇidvīpam agād iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Dharmāśokarājasya śilālekhaneṣu Anantayogyarājasya nāma labhyata iti Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitena Pālarājadūtena Śivaśarmapaṇḍitenoktam. Śivaśarmapaṇḍitas tu Pālarājavaṁśasya Paramparāpustakaṁ likhitun Dharmāśokarājasya śilālekhanāni vācayitum praguṇīkṛtvā sthitvā Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā pratyāgamya sthitvā Rāmapālena satkṛtas sthitvā mṛta iti Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam.

(3) The Ptolemys

Tulumāya Sotaras tasya putras Tulumāya Philadalphas tasya putras Tulumāya Evuragatas tasya putras Tulumāya Philapatras tasya putras Tulumāya Epiphānas tasya putras Tulumāya Philamātras tasya bhrātā Tulumāya Evuragatas tasya putras Tulumaya Sotaras tasya bhrātā Tulumāya Alakṣandaras tasya putras Tulumāya Nava Diyaniśas tasya duhitā Kliyapātrā Markus Antonius nāma Romasenāpater bhāryā bhūtvā sthitvā Yulyus Kaesara nāma Roma-senāpatinā gṛhītvā Romarājyamānītā. Miśararājyaṁ Romarājye 'ntargataṁ kṛtam iti Buddhapriyācāryeṇa Yavana-pustakeṣu pradattānusārena Turumāya-rājaparamparā pradattā. Rājavaṁśapustake pradattānusāreṇa Turumāya-rājaparamparā pradīyate. Turumāya Sāvitras tasya putras Turumāya Priyadālbhyas tasya putras Turumāya Yuvarājitas tasya putras Turumāya Priyapitras tasya putras Turumāya Abhisvanas tasya putras Turumāya Priyamātras tasya putras Turumāya Hariścandras tasya putras Turumāya Dhānyeśas tasya duhitā Kalyapātrā Mṛgeśa Anantāvanīśa-nāma-Romasenāpater bhāryā bhūtvā sthitvā Jvālya-Keśari-nāma-Romasenāpatinā gṛhītvā Romarājyan nītvā Miśararājyañ ca Romamahārājye antargataṁ kṛtam. Rājavaṁśapustake ca sarveṣān Turumāya-rājānān nāmāni pradattānīti ca paścāt kāni cid galitānīti ca bhavituṁ śakyam. (*See p. 23, f. n. 13*)

Dharmāśokarājasya samaye Tulumāya-Philadalphasya putras Tulumāya Evuragatas tasya rājye dharman deśitum avasaram adād iti ca Maudagalīputra-sthavirasya śiṣyo Mahāmahendrasthaviras tatra gatvā dharman deśitvā punar āgamya sthitvā Tāmraparṇidvīpam agamad iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

(4) Macedonia

Parama-Yavaneṣv Alakṣandara-rājasya paścāt sthitasya Magadharājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā Philippa-nāma-senāpatis tasya putras Sotara-Magas tasya putraḥ Philippas tasya putras Sotara-Magas tasya putraḥ Philippas tasya rājye Brahmaṇya-nāma-Roma-senāpatinā Magadharājyaṁ vijitya Roma-rājyasya vaśe sthāpitam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Rājavaṁśapustakasya racayitur Buddharakṣita-sthavirasya Magadharājye purāvṛttam pratibadhya satya-jñānan nābhavad iva prajñāyate. Sotara Maga iti saṁjñā-nāman na bhavaty upapadam bhavati. Mahān trāteti tasyārthaṁ. Philippa-nāmā eka eva rājā paścima-Magadharājye sthitaḥ. Sa cāntimaḥ. Yavana-pustakeṣu pradattānusāreṇa Paścima-Magadharājye rājaparamparā 'tra pradīyate: Philippa-putro 'ntikinaḥ Paścima-Magadharājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā. Tasya putro Dhīmitras tasya putro 'ntikina-Gonātas tasya putro Dhīmitras tasya putraḥ Philippas tasya rājye Phlamiyānu-nāmā Roma-senāpatir Magadharājyaṁ vijitya Roma-rājyasya vaśe sthāpaitam iti Yavana-pustakeṣu pradattam. Antikina iti Dharmāśoka-rājasya śilālekhaneṣu pradattatvāt pratigṛhītam. Antigona iti Yavana-bhāṣayā 'gata-rūpam. Tasyārthan na jñātam.

Dharmāśoka-rājasya mitro bhūtvā śthitvā 'tmano rājye Buddhadharman deśītuṁ yena Magadharājenāvasaram pradattaṁ sa Antigona Gonāta bhavitavya iti Garuḍācāryasya matam. Sotara Maga iti Rājavaṁśapustake pradattam. Sotara Maga iti Antigona-Gonātasaya copapadam abhavad iti ca tasmād Rājavaṁśapustake pradattam pratigṛhītavyam iti ca Rūmavāṇijenoktam.

(*d*) *Kingdom of Cyrene*

Kurīṇarājyam Miśararājyasya partiṣṭhāpayitus Turumāya-Sāvaitrasya putreṇa Maganāma-rājaputreṇa pratiṣṭhāpitam. Magarāje pañcāśad varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kṛtvā mṛte tasya duhitā Suvarṇṇākṣī Kurīṇarājyasya svāminī bhūtvā sthiteti śrutvā Magadharājye Antikinarājas svabhrātur Dhīmitrasya Kurīṇarājyam prāpya Suvarṇṇākṣyāś cittaṁ gṛhītvā tāṁ saṁvāhya Kurīṇarājyaṁ labdhvā tatra rājyaṅ kārayitum ādiśat. Dhīmitraḥ Kurīṇarājyam prāpya sthitaḥ. Ekadā Suvarṇṇākṣī svamātrā sārdhaṁ rahasi sthitan Dhīmitran dṛṣṭvā tam amārayat. Tataḥ paścāt Suvarṇṇākṣī Miśararājye Turumāya-Priyadālbhyasya putrasya Yuvarājita-nāma-rājaputrasya pradattā.

Yuvarājitaḥ Kurīṇarājyam prāpya Suvarṇṇākṣīṁ saṁvāhya katipaya-divasāni sthitvā Miśararājyam pratyāgamya yuddhāya Suriyarājyaṅ gataḥ. Suvarṇ-ṇākṣī svabharttāraṁ rakṣitum Abhrasthitān devīṁ yācayitvā svakeśapāśañ ca tasyai pūjayitvā keśapāśan tasyāḥ devakulé 'sthāpayat. Varṣa-dvaye 'tīte'pi Yuvarājitaḥ Suriyarājyān na pratyāgataḥ. Yuvarājito mṛta ityavadhārya Suvarṇṇākṣī Magadharājyād āgatasya Sūryadvāra-nāmarājaputrasya bhāryā bhūtvā Kurīṇa-rājyan tasya prādāt. Yuvarājito yuddhe vijayaṅ gṛhītvā Miśararājyam pratyāgamya sthita iti śrutvā Sūryadvāras Suvarṇṇākṣyāḥ keśapāśaṅ gopitvā sthāpitvā Suvarṇṇ-ākṣīṁ rājamandire 'varudhya sthāpitvā svayaṅ Kurīṇarājyan kārayan sthita iti Yuvarājitas śrutvā Sūryadvāram mārayitvā Suvarṇṇākṣīm Miśararājyam ānāyituṁ senāpatiṁ Kurīṇrājyam prāhiṇot. Sūryadvāras tena senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya parājito Magadharājyam pratyāgamya sthitvā paścāt kāle Suriyarājyam prāpya Anantayogyarājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā Pārthavair abhiyudhya parājitaḥ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāpya sthitaḥ.

Dharmmāśokarājas tasya Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājye satrapasthānam prādāt. Sūrya-dvāras Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājye satraparājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā Dharmmāśokarāje mṛte svayamparamo bhūtvā sapta varṣāṇi Suvarṇṇakudyarājyaṅ kārayan sthito Yuvastha-dhīmatā parājito mṛta iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Turumāya Yuvarājitasya putraḥ Sūryadvāraḥ Kurīṇarājyaṁ labdhvā Kurīṇa-rājyaṁ mahārājyaṅ kṛtvā catustriṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasmin mṛte Kurīṇarājyam Miśararājye 'ntargataṁ kṛtam.

Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātaṁ Kalyamagha-kaver Vinaṣṭakeśapāśanāma-kāvye pradatta-vṛttāntena saṁsandyata iti Rūmavāṇijenoktam. Kalyamagha-kaver Vinaṣṭa-keśapāśa-nāma-kāvyasya pratīkaṅ Garuḍācāryeṇa labdhvā Rūmavāṇijasya paṭhitum prādād iti ca Rūmavāṇijena tatkāvyam paṭhitvā tasya bhāṣā atiramyeti khyātvā tasya vastuṁ svapustake pradattam iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake Sūryya-dvāra iti pradatta-nāmaṅ Kalyamaghakavinā Yavanabhāṣayā Antialkida iti rūpeṇa pradattam iti ca Rajavaṁśapustakasya racayitrā Buddharakṣitasthavireṇa Yavanabhāṣayāgatanāmam Antalikida iti paṭhitvā Antalikī'ti Saṁskṛta-bhāṣayā 'ntarikṣinn iti ca Sūrya-paryāyam iti ca da iti Saṁskṛtabhāṣayā dvāḥ iti ca dvārārtham iti ca gṛhītvā Sūryadvāra iti rūpam siddha iva prajñayata iti ca khyātam iti ca Suvarṇṇapure paṇḍiteṣu paramparānuyātavṛttāntam asti.

V. Greek Philosophers

Aristātalācāryas tu Plātavācāryasya śiṣyaḥ. Plātavācaryas tu Sukṛteśācāryasya śiṣyaḥ. Sukṛteśācāryas tu Yavana-dharmmasya pratiṣṭhāpayiteti Paramparā-pustake vyākhyātam. Plātavācaryasya dharmman tu Sukṛteśācāryasya dharmmeṇa samam iti ca Āristātalācāryasya dharmman tu Sukṛteśācāryasya dharmmeṇa bahuśo virudhyata iti ca Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Sukṛteśācāryasya dharmman tu Buddha-dharmmeṇa bahuśas samam əpy ātamadṛṣṭir na pratyākhyāteti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Plātavācāryasya dharmman tu cittamātra-vādam iti ca Mahāsāṁghikānām matena bahuśas samam iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Vedāntadharmmeṇa samam iti Rājasundara-paṇḍitasya matam. Śaṁkarācāryyasya dharmmeṇa samam iti Śivasarmma-paṇḍitena vyākhyātam. Vijñānavādena samam iti Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Aristātalācāryasya dharmman tu Vaiśeṣika-matena samam iti Paramparā-pustake vyākhyātam. Sarvvāstivadena samam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Sthaviravādena samam iti ca Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapura-vāṁśe tv ācāryyavādān pratibadhya yat-kiñcin noktaṁ. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu rājñām purāvṛttāni vyākhyātuṁ racitapustakam. Rājavaṁśāpustakañ ca Paramparā-pustakañ ca tadanya-viṣayāny api vyākhyātuṅ kṛte pustake. Tasmāt Suvarṇṇa-puravaṁśasya Rājavaṁśapustakena ca Paramparāpustakena ca virodhan na bhavati. Sukṛteśacāryasya matan tu Brāhmaṇa-dharmmeṇa samam iti ca Sukṛteśācāryas tu Jambudvīpam prāpya sthitvā Brāhmaṇānām matāny

udgṛhya punas sva-rājyam prāpya sthitvā sva-dharmmam pratyasthāpayad iti
ca Rājasundara-paṇḍitasya matam. Rājasundara-paṇḍitasya matan tu Rūmavāṇi-
jen Ālakṣandarena na pratigṛhītam. Tasya matan tu Sukṛteśācāryyaḥ Pāraśika-
rājyam prāpya sthitvā Maga-brāhmaṇaiś ca Misāra-rajyād āgata-paṇḍitaiś ca
sārddhaṁ sambhāṣaṇāni kṛtvā teṣān dharmmāṇy udgṛhya svarājyam prāpya
sthitvā svadharmmam pratyasthāpayad iti. Rājasundara-paṇḍitasya matam
pratigṛhītun na śakyam. Candragupta-rājyasya pūrvve Jambudvīpasya ca
Yavana-rājyānāñ ca sambandham abhūd iti yat-kiñcit sādhanan nāsti. Tasmāt
Rūmavāṇijasya matam pratigṛhītuṁ yuktam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥ-
pravattane tu Candragupta-rājyasya pūrve' pi Jambudvīpasya ca Yavana-
rājyānāñ ca sambandham abhūd iti vyākhyātam. Candragupta-rājasya pitā
Sūryyanārāyaṇo Yavana-rājyam prāpya sthitvā Yavana-rājena pradattam balaṅ
gṛhītvā punar āgamya yuddhaṅ kṛtvā Pāṭaliputra-rājyaṅ gṛhītvā tatra rājyaṅ
kṛtvā sthitvā mṛta iti vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttanasya
pūrvaṁ viracitānya-pustaka etad vṛttāntan nāgatatvāt pratigṛhītun na
śakyam. Kin tu Candragupta-rājyasya pūrvve Jambudvīpasya ca Yavana-rājyānāñ
ca sambandhan nābhūd iti ca sādhayitun na śakyam. Tasmāc ca Sukṛteśā-
cāryasya dharmmasya Brāhmaṇa-dharmmeṇa sāmyam astitvāc ca Jambu-
dvīpam aparāpyāpi Brāhmaṇa- dharmmam udgṛhya sva-dharmmam pratyas-
thāpayad iti gṛhītum prabhavati.

Sukṛteśācāryas tu Hastināpure pāṣāṇḍair vivādaṅ kṛtvā svadharmmam
asthāpayad iti Rūmavāṇijen Ālakṣandareṇa vyākhyātam. Hastināpure yuvānas
tu Sukṛteśācāryasya pakṣaṅ gṛhītvā 'nyācāryyānāṁ sakāśaṁ gantun
naicchann iti ca Hastināpure vṛddha-janās tv anya-pāṣāṇḍānām pakṣaṅ gṛhītvā
Hastināpure saṁgha-pramukham prāpya Sukṛteśācāryeṇa Hastināpure yūnāṁ
sadācāram vipratipannam iti prāpaṇāṅ kuryyur iti ca saṁghapramukhas tu
saṁghaṁ sannipātya codakāṁś ca coditañ ca samāhūya parīkṣaṇaṁ kṛtvā
Sukṛteśācāryas tv aparādhakārīti viniścitya tasya maraṇa-daṇḍanaṁ vidhāya
tam amārayd iti Paramparāpustake ca Rājavaṁśapustake ca vyākhyātam. Rūma-
vāṇijen Ālakṣandareṇa tu Sukṛteśācāryasya Hastināpurād vahir niṣkramya
maraṇadaṇḍanam apavarttayitum prahbhutvam abhavad iti ca Sukṛteśā-
cāryas tu jīvitāśām parityajya maraṇam abhajad iti ca maraṇan tu viṣa-
pāyanena vidhitam iti ca vyākhyātam. Sukṛteśācāryasya maraṇād apare kāle
tasya pratimās sarvveṣu Yavana-pureṣu pratiṣṭthāpitās tasya dharmmañ ca
Yavanadharmmam iti pratigṛhītam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥ-pravarttane
tu Sukṛteśācaryasya nāma-mātram api na dṛśyate. Mānābharaṇasya rājyodayan
tu Sukṛteśācāryasya maraṇāt pañcasaptatyadhika-ṣaṭ-chataikasahasra-varṣāṇāṁ
vyatyaye bhūtam.

VI. The Republics of Athens and of the Licchavis

Hastināpure saṁghas tu Licchavisaṁghena samāna iti Paramparāpustake

vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustake tu Hastināpure saṁghena Licchavisaṁghasya
yatkiñcit sāmyam asty api viśeṣās tu bahava iti vyākhyātam. Hastināpure saṁghasya
vyavasthās Solon-nāma-paṇḍitena kṛtāś śilālekhane sthāpitāś ceti Rājavaṁśa-
pustake vyākhyātam. Hastināpure saṁghasya pure sarvva evāryyakula-jyeṣṭhās
sāmājikāḥ. Saṁghapramukas tu saṁghe sarvvair evāryyakula-jyeṣthais samma-
tena saṁsthāpyate. Saṁghe sthānāni sarvvair eva labdhuṁ śakyam api rahasya-
śalākāpātanena bahusaṁkhya-śalākā-labdha-pudgalaḥ saṁghapramukasthāne sthā-
pyate. Avaśeṣasthāneṣv api bahusaṁkhya-rahasyaśalāklabdha-pudgalās sthāpyante.
Śalākāpātanan tu devakule sthitvā kriyate. Śāmakāle saṁghapramukhasya pura-
kāryāṇi saṁvidhātuṁ sarvveṣām eva sāmājikānāṁ sammatena balam pradātum
bhavitayam. Yuddhakāle tu saṁgha-pramukhasya purasaṁrakṣaṇārtham bhavit-
avya-kāryāṇi ca senāsaṁgrhaṇañ ca senāvyavasthāpanañ ca purasya ca
senāyāś cāhārasaṁgrahaṇañ ca yuddhāya senāyāḥ pravahaṇañ caivamādi-
bhavitvya-kāryāṇi ca rogadurbhikṣādyāpatkāle bhavitavyakāryāṇi ca svamatena
kartum balam asty api yuddhe vāpatkāle vā vyatīte svamatena kṛtāni kāryāṇi
saṁghasya niveditavvyāni. Svamatena kṛtāni kāryāṇy abhavitavyāni cet svamatena
kṛtāni kāryāṇy ārabhya saṁghapramukkhasya codayituṁ saṁghasya balam asti.
Yuddhāya senāpravahaṇan tu saṁghapramukhena vā senāpatinā vā kartuṁ
śakyam. Saṁghapramukhas tu caturvvarṣaparimita-kālam purakāryāṇy adhi-
kartuṁ sthāpitaḥ. Caturvvarṣaparimite kāle vyatīte saṁghapramukhasthānam
punas sammantavyam. Caturvvarṣakālaṁ saṁghapramukhasthāne sthitvā cyāvita-
saṁghapramukhasya ca punas saṁghapramukhasthānaṁ labdhum avasaram
asti. Kin tu caturvvārādhikakālam ekapudgalasya saṁghapramukhasthānaṁ
labdhum avasaran nāsti. Licchavisaṁghapramukhas tu jīvitānta-parimitakālam
paramparāyātaparipāṭyā saṁsthāpyate. Licchavisaṁghapramukhasya rājño samam
balam asti. Saptaśatasaptasaptatyadhika-saptasahasra-sāmājikās sthitās tathāpi
saṁghapramukhaṁ saptasāmājikānām antare bhavitavyam. Licchavisaṁghe yud-
dhāya senāpravahaṇan tu senāpatinā kartavyam. Senāpatis tu saṁghapramukhena
sthāpyate. Sthāne sthāpanan tu saṁghapramukhasya svamatena kartuṁ śakyam.
Kin tu saṁghasya niveditavyam. Saṁghapramukhena sthāpitan dhurandharaṁ
saṁghenāpahartun na śakyam. Saṁghapramukhasya jīvitāvasāne paripāṭyā
tasyāsanne sthitasya saṁghapramukhasthānaṁ labhyate. Licchavisaṁghas tu
Buddhakāle sthitvā Samudraguptarājasamayan darśayitvā sthitaḥ. Samudraguptas
tu Licchavidauhitra iti prasiddhaḥ. Hastināpure saṁghas tu Buddhaparinirvāṇāt
pañcapañcāśadvarṣe sthitvā Philippa-rājasya saptamavarṣan darśayitvā sthitaḥ.

VII. Greek Literature and Art

Yavanarājyeṣu sadācārasaṁsthāpanapustakas tv Aristātalācāryeṇa viracitaḥ.
Tathāpi sadācārasaṁsthāpana-pustakā bahavo'nyās santīti Rājavaṁśapustake
vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustake nāmena khyātapustakānām ekatamas tu Hara-

dattapaṇḍitena nānādeśeṣv ābhiṇḍya svarājyam punarāgamya sthitvā kṛtaḥ purāvṛttānāṁ saṁgrahapustakaḥ. Haradattapaṇḍitas tu Suppārakatīrtham prāpya sthitvā pratyāgata iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Kin tu Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthithvā pratyāgata-Rūma-vāṇijenālakṣandaranāmnā Haradatta-paṇḍito Jambudvīpe yatkiñcitsthānam prāpya sthitvā pratyāgata iti sādhayitum yatkiñcit pramāṇan nāstī ti vyākhyātam. Haradattapaṇḍitasya purāvṛttasaṁgrahas tu purāvṛttagranthānām agratama iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Haradatta-paṇḍitasya purāvṛttasaṁgrahe Jambudvīpapratibaddhāni purāvṛttāni stokamā-treṇaiva vyākhyātāni. Kintu Jambudvīpasyāsannabhūtasya Pāraśikarājyasya purā-vṛttāni suṣṭhu ca vistareṇa ca vyākhyātāni. Pāraśikamahārajyapratiṣṭhāpana-vṛttāntan tu Haradattapaṇḍitaṁ vinā kenacid anyena na vistāritam iti Rājavaṁśa-pustake vyākhyātam. Haradattapaṇḍitasya pustakas tu purāvṛttāni vyākhyātuṁ kṛtaḥ pustakaḥ. Kintu sadācārapratibaddhāni vastūny api tatra sthitānīti Param-parāpustake ca Rājavaṁśapustake ca vyākhyātam. Haradattapaṇḍitasya pustakaḥ Saṁskṛtabhāṣām parivartita iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Kintu Rāja-vaṁśapustakasya racayitrā vā'nyena vā Haradattapaṇḍitasya pustakasya Saṁs-kṛtaparivartanan dṛṣṭam iti na vyākhyātam. Haradattapaṇḍitasya pustakasya nāmamātram api Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe vā Mahāvaṁśe vā nāgatam. Haradatta-paṇḍitasya pustakaḥ Saṁskṛtabhāṣām parivaritītaś cet tasya nāma Suvarṇṇa-puravaṁśe vā Mahāvaṁśe vā khyāpanaṁ yuktam. Tasmāt Haradattapaṇḍitasya pustakaḥ Samskṛtabhāṣān na parivarttita iti niścituṁ yuktam. Haradatta-paṇḍito Jambudvīpe utpanno 'bhaviṣyas tasya Bauddham bhavitum upaniśraya-sampattir abhaviṣya iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Haradattapaṇḍitasya paścātkāle kṛteṣu purāvṛtta-pustakeṣu Tuṣyaddyutināma-paṇḍitasya pustakas tv agragaṇya iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Tuṣyaddyuti-paṇḍitasya pustake tu Paramayavaneṣu Spārtapurasya ca Hastināpurasya ca yuddhaṁ vistareṇa vyākhyātam. Spārtapure senāpatis tu Rājadhāma iti nāmā. Hastināpure senāpatis tu Parikalya iti nāmā. Spārtapure senāpatis tu Paramayavaneṣu sthitaṁ praśnavyākaraṇasthānabhūtaṁ Dālbhyapuraṅ gṛhītvā Hastināpuraṅ ca gṛhītum gataḥ Parikalyena parājitaḥ svarājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛta iti Tuṣyaddyutipaṇḍitena vistareṇa ca prabandhamāhātmyena ca varṇṇitam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Yavanarājye sthitānāṁ sadācārapustakānām ekatamas tu Plutarājapaṇḍitasya caritapustakaḥ. Plutarājapaṇḍitena Yavanarājye vīrāṇāñ ca Romarājye vīrāṇāñ ca caritāni varṇṇitānīti Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Plutarājapaṇḍitasya carita-pustakaṁ Rājasundarapaṇḍitena Saṁskṛtabhāṣām parivartita iti Paramparā-pustake vyākhyātam. Rājasundarapaṇḍitena kṛtam Plutarājapaṇḍitasya carita-pustakasya Saṁskṛtabhāṣāparivartanam Pāṇḍyarājye vyavahāraprāptam iti Sundaramūrtipaṇḍitenoktam. Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya Saṁskṛtabhāṣāpari-vartanan Draviḍabhāṣām parivartitam iti Sundaramūrtipaṇḍitenoktam. Rāja-

sundarapaṇḍitasya Saṁskṛtabhāṣāparivartanaṁ Vijayabāhurājasamaye Vidyā-cakravartipaṇḍitena Siṁhalabhāṣām parivartitam iti Sumaṅgalācāryeṇoktam. Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya Saṁskṛtaparivartanād uddhṛtya Plutarājapaṇḍitasya carita-vastu-dvayam Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapura-vaṁśe'pi Plutarā-javastudvayaṁ vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya ca Paramparāpustakasya ca mahatsambandham astīti Sumaṅgalācāryasya matam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe sthitāni Plutarājavastūni Paramparāpustakād uddhṛtya kṣiptānīti Sumaṅgalācāryasya matam.

Yavanarājye sthiteṣu kāvyapustakeṣu agragaṇyan tu Gomāramahākavinā viracitel-yannāma mahākavyam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Gomāramahākavis tu Paramayavaneṣu sthitvā Pāraśikarājyam prāpya tatra sthitvelyannāma mahā-kāvyaṁ viracayya punaḥ Paramayavanāni prāpya tatra sthitvā Ayodhyeśīyan nāma dvitīyam mahākāvyaṁ viracayya sthitvā Miśararājyam prāpya tatra sthitvā tṛtīyam mahākāvyañ ca viracyya sthithvā mṛta iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Gomā-ramahākaver Ilyannāma mahākāvyasya vastubhūtavṛttāntaṁ Rājavaṁśapustake saṁkṣepeṇa vyākhyātam. Purā Spārtapure Mānyalavarājasya bhāryāṁ Kal-yāṇāṁ saṁrakṣitum Paramayavaneṣu sarve rājāno hastan datvā sthitāḥ. Tripura-rājye Pārśanāmā rājaputro nānādeśeṣu vibhraman Spārtapuram prāpya sthitvā tatra Kalyāṇān dṛṣṭvā tāṁ gṛhītvā svarājyam prāpya sthitaḥ. Mānyalavas tu Parama-yavaneṣu sarveṣāṁ rajñāṁ sandeśam prāhiṇot tair dattahastasyānusāreṇa Tri-purarājyam prāpya Kalyāṇām mocayituṁ. Paramayavaneṣu sarve rājānas tat-sandeśam pratigṛhya svābhis svābhis senābhis Tripurarājyam prāptāḥ. Ayodhyapure Agramānavarājaś ca svasenayā sārdhaṁ Tripurarājyam prāpya Paramayavaneṣu sarveṣāṁ rājñāṁ senāpatir bhūtvā dvādaśavarṣāṇi yuddhaṁ kṛtvā Pārśam parā-jitum aśaknuvan kūṭopāyena Tripuranagaram praviśya Pārśañ ca tasya mitrabā-ndhavāṁś ca nihatya Kalyāṇām mocitvā Mānyalavarājasya datvā svasvarājyāni punar āgamya svarājyāni kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtāḥ. Etat kathāvastun tu Gomāra-mahākavir nānāntarkathābhiś ca nānāprakāravarṇṇanaiś ca sārdhaṁ lalita-prauḍhapadair vistāritam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Gomāramahākaver dvitīyam mahākāvyan tu Ayodhyeśīyan nāma. Tatra ca Gomāramahākavinā Agramānavasya bhrātur Ayodhyeśasya nānājanapadeṣu bhramaṇavṛttāntāni varṇi-tānīti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Gomāramahākaves tṛtīyam mahākāvyaṁ samprati na labhyata iti ca tasya bhāṣā purāṇa-Yavanabhāṣā iti ca Hastināpure bhāṣāyās ca Dvārakayavanabhāṣāyāś ca viśiṣyata iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyā-khyātam. Yavaneṣu anyāni bahūni kāvyāni santīti ca teṣān nāmāny api pradātuṁ sthānan nāstīti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Yavaneṣu bahūni nāṭakāni santīti ca Saṁskṛtanāṭakebhyo Yavananāṭakāni praśastatarāṇīti ca Rājavaṁśa-pustake vyākhyātam. Saṁskṛtanāṭakakartṛbhir api Yavananāṭakebhyo bahūni gurūpadeśany uddhṛtānīti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Yavananāṭaka-kartṝṇām agragaṇyas tu Yuvarūpadhanāmā iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Yuvarūpadhasya nāṭakeṣu vastūni purāvṛttebhyaś ca paurāṇāṁ samprati jīvanacaritebhyaś coddhṛtāniti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Yuvarūpadhasya nāṭakeṣu kutracit Bauddhasadācāram praśaṁśitam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Yuvarūpadhasya nāṭakāni Pañcanadarājye nānāsthāneṣu pradarśitānīti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Yuvarūpadhasya nāṭakeṣu kutracit Suvarṇṇapure vṛttāntāny apy antargatānī ti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Yavaneṣu bahūni śāstrāṇi paramotkṛṣṭasthānam prāptānīti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Gaṇitaśāstrañ ca jyotiṣaśāstrañ ca vaidyaśāstrañ ca vījagaṇitañ ca sūryasiddhāntañ ca mānaśāstrañ ca trikoṇamānaśāstrañ ca catuṣkoṇamānaśāstrañ ca pañcakoṇamānaśāstrañ ca ṣaṭkoṇamānaśastrañ ca saptakoṇamānaśāstrañ ca Yuvakratunāmācāryeṇa viracitānī iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Khaṇḍanaśādhanāntargatavādanyāyaśāstrañ ca rājadharmmaśāstrañ ca saundaryaśāstrañ ca vyākaraṇaśāstrañ ca padyakaraṇopayogiśāstrañ ca rājysthitigaveṣaṇapustakañ cādhyātmavidyāñ ca kāvyadharmagaveṣaṇapustakañ ca rājadharmagaveṣaṇapustakañ ca sadācāraśāstrañ ca bhūmiśāstrañ cāristātalācāryeṇa kṛtānīti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Aristātalācāryasya śāstrāṇi ca pustakāni ca Yavaneṣu cānyarājyeṣu ca yūnām adhyāpanārtham upayogībhūtānīti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Yavanarājyeṣu bahūni prāsādāni ca pratimāś ca citrakarmāṇi ca santīti ca Paramayavanarājyeṣu sthitvā Gandhārarājyam prāptair Yavanaśilpibhir bahūḥ Buddhapratimāś ca Bodhisattvapratimāś ca devānām pratimāś ca nirmāpya punas svarājyam prāptā iti ca Buddhasya Bhagavataḥ parinivāṇāt pañcaśatābdakālam pradarśya Buddhasya Bhagavataḥ pratimā nābhavanniti ca Gandhārarājyam prāptair Yavana-śilpibhir Buddhasya Bhagavataḥ pratimāyāḥ sampradāyañ Jambudvīpe śilpibhya udgrāhāpayitvā svarājyam prātpā iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Gandhārarājyam prāpteṣu Yavanaśilpiṣu svarājyaṅ gateṣu Jambudvīpe nānāpradeśeṣu śilpibhir Buddhasya Bhagavataḥ pratimā nānāprakāreṇa nirmāpitā iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Yavanarājye bhāṣā Saṁskṛtabhāṣayā samāneti Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā suvarājyam prāptena Rūmavāṇijālakṣandareṇa Kustantinapure sthitvā preṣitasandeśe vyākhyātam. Saṁskṛtabhāṣā ca Pāraśikabhāṣa ca Grīkabhāṣā ca Latīnabhāṣā ca Yavanarājyasya paścimadiśābhāge sthitānāṁ rājyānām bhāṣāścaikabhāṣāgaṇe 'ntargatā bhavitavyeti Rūmavāṇijenālakṣandareṇa prakāśitam. Rūmavāṇijālakṣandaras tu Samaravijayottuṅga-mahārājasya pañcapañcāśattame Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā punaḥ svarājyam prāpya sthitvā punaḥ Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitaḥ Saṁskṛtabhāṣāñ ca Malayabhāṣāñ ca praguṇīkṛtvā Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravartanaṁ Grīkabhāṣām parivartya pañcavarṣāṇi Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā Mānābharaṇamahārājasya pañcame varṣe punaḥ svarājyam prāpya sthitaḥ sandeśam preṣitvā sthitvā mṛta iti śrūyate. Rūmavāṇijālakṣandareṇa racitam pustakaṁ Grīkabhāṣayā racitam api tasya sārāṁśaṁ Saṁskṛtabhāṣayāa ca Malayabhāṣayā ca dattam. Rūmavāṇijālakṣandarasya matan tu Saṁskṛtabhāṣā ca Pāraśikabhāṣā ca Grīkabhāṣā ca Latīnanāmabhāṣā ca Yuropārājyeṣu bhāṣāś caikabhāṣāgaṇe 'ntargatā bhavitavyā iti caitāsu bhāṣāsu samānapadāni ca samānavyākaraṇarūpāṇi ca samāṇadhātupratyayāni ca samānavākyaracanākramāṇi ca samānaśāstraprakaraṇāni ca samānapadyaracanāni ca samānadarśanāni ca santīti. Rūmavāṇijālakṣandarasya matan tu Pāṇiner vyākaraṇaśāstrasamaṁ vyākaraṇaśāstraṁ loke kutracin nābhūc ca na bhaviṣyatī ti ca Pāṇiner buddhiprabhāvam atyadbhutam iti ca Pāṇiner vyākaraṇasya Candrācāryeṇa kṛtā pañcikā tu rājyapradānena sammānitavyaṅ grantham iti ca Pāṇines sūtrāṇām Paruṣottamadevācāryeṇa kṛtā Laghuvṛttiś ca rājyapradānena sammānitavyaṁ grantham iti ca Buddhadharmasamaṁ dharmaṁ loke nābhūc ca na bhaviṣyatī ti ca Kālidāsasya Sakuntalānāṭakasamaṁ saundaryeṇa purṇanāṭakaṁ Yuropārājyeṣu na prādurbhūtam iti ca Cāndravyākaraṇañ ca rājyapradānena sammānitavyaṁ grantham iti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśena samam purāvarttapustakaṁ Haradattasya paścān nābhūd iti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravartttanañ ca purāvṛttagrantheṣv agragaṇyapustakam iti ca Rāmāyaṇa-samaṁ mahākāvyaṁ loke nābhūc ca na bhaviṣyatī ti ca Mahābhāratasamaṁ mahākāvyañ ca loke nābhūc ca na bhaviṣyatīti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttanena samam purāvṛttapustakaṁ Yuropārājyeṣv adyakṛtvaḥ na prādur abhūd iti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttanasya kartā purāvṛttagaveṣīṇāṁ gauravasya pātrabhūto bhavitavya iti ca Sundarapāṇḍya-rājena kṛtās stotrā bhaktimārgayāyīnām prasādāvahane samarthā iti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttanasya kartā suvarṇṇamudrāpradānena sammānitavya iti cedṛśānāṅ kāryāṇāṁ karaṇe samarthabhūtasya manuṣyavargasye loke pramukhasthānam labdhavyam iti ca Rūmavāṇijālakṣandarasya matānītī jñātavyāni. Svasti. Svasti. Svasti.

Draviḍabhāṣā caitasmin bhāṣāgaṇe 'ntarbhūtā bhavitavyeti Sundaramūrtināyakapaṇḍitasya matam. Kintu Buddhapriyācaryas Sundaramūrtināyakasya matan na pratigṛhṇāti. Draviḍabhāṣāyāṁ Saṁskṛta-tatsamapadāni ca Saṁskṛtena bhinnapadāni ca bahūni santy api Draviḍabhāṣāyā bhūmibhūtapadāni Saṁskṛtabhāṣāsvarūpasya visadṛśānīti Buddhapriyācāryasya matam. Sumaṅgalācāryaś ca Buddhapriyācaryasya matam pratigṛhṇāti. Sumaṅgalācaryeṇa tu Siṁhalabhāṣā ca Draviḍabhāṣāgaṇe 'antargatabhūtā bhavitavyeti prakāśitā. Buddhapriyācaryas tv etanmatan na pratigṛhṇāti. Buddhapriyācāryasya mate Siṁhalabhāṣā ca Siṁhalabhāṣāyām padāni ca vyākaraṇarūpāṇi ca dhātupratyarūpāṇi ca vākyaracanāsampradāyañ ca Saṁskṛtabhāṣāgaṇena samānīti Buddhapriyācāryasya matam.

VIII. History of Candragupta, as given in the Rajavamsapustaka

Rājavaṁśapustaka āgatānusāreṇa Candraguptarājasya vṛttāntam atra likhitum Māgharājenājñaptas tasmāt Rājavaṁśapustaka āgatānusāreṇa Candraguptarājasya vṛttāntam atra likhyate.

Candraguptarājas tu Mayūra-senāpateḥ putro Mayūra-senāpatis tu Mayūra-senāpateḥ putro Mayūra-senāpatis tu Mayūra-senāpateḥ putro Mayūra-senāpatis tu Mayūra-senāpateḥ putro Mayūra-senāpatis tu Mayūra-senāpateḥ putro Mayūra-senāpatis tu Pipphalivane Maurya-saṁghapramukhasya putraḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya sthitvā Ajātaśatru-rājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtas tasya putro Mayūraś ca Magadharājye senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtas tasya putro Mayūraś ca Magadharājye senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtas tasya putro Mayūraś ca Magadharājye senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtas tasya putro Mayūraś ca Magadharājye senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtas tasya putraś Candragupto Dhananandarājasya duhitaran Nandinīṁ saṁvāhya sthitvā Magadharājye senāpatisthānaṁ labdhvā sthitasamaye 'lakṣandararājo Pañcanadrājyam prāpya sthita iti śrutvā senāvāhanasahitas tatra gatvā Philippa-nāma Yavana-senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Pañcanadarājyaṁ gṛhītvā Magadharājyasya vaśe sthātuṁ pratijñām pradāya sthitasya Parvatarājasya Pañcanadarājyam pradāya svasenāpatiñ ca sthāpayitvā Alakṣandararājam anubandhitum prasthitasamaye Alakṣandara-rājas Sindhurājyam prāpya sthitvā Bāverurājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛta iti śrutvā Sindhurājyam prāpya Siṁhalenābhiyudhya tam parājayya Sindhurājyam gṛhītvā Siṁhalasya Magadharājyasya vaśe sthitvā Sindhurājyaṁ kārayituṁ samādiśat.

Siṁhalas tv Alakṣandararājasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradāya sthitatvān Magadharājyasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradātun necchan samudravartmanā Bāverurājyam prāpya tatra sthitvā Calukya-Nikatorasya sandeśam prāhiṇot Sindhurājyañ Candraguptena gṛhītam iti ca tena yoddhuṁ sāhāyyam bhavitavyam iti ca khyātvā. Candraguptas tu Sindhurājye svasenāpatiṁ sthāpayitvā Suvarṇṇakuḍyam prāpya sthitaḥ.

Calukya-Nikatoras tu senāvāhanasahitas svayam āgamya sva-svasāraṁ Siṁhalasya saṁvāhya pradāya Candraguptena Sindhurājye sthāpita-senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Sindhurājyaṅ gṛhītvā Siṁhalasya datvā tan tatra sthāpayitvā Candraguptam anubandhan Suvarṇṇakuḍyam prāptas tatra Maṇḍalagṛha-nāmasthāne pravṛtta-mahāyuddhe Candraguptena parājito gṛhītaś ca.

Calukya-Nikatoro gṛhīta iti śrutvā Siṁhalaś Calukya-Nikatorasya svasrā Suvarṇṇākṣyā ca sārddhaṁ Sindhunadīmukhadvāre sthitvā Puṇḍrarājyam prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rājavaṁśan nirmūlya Puṇḍrarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Puṇḍrarājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā mṛtah. Tasya putro Muruṇḍa-Śivas tu Tāmraparṇṇidvīpam prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rājavaṁśan nirmūlya Tāmraparṇṇidvīpe rājyaṅ gṛhītvā catvariṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Puṇḍrakābhayo Anurādhapuram māpayitvā saptatriṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Calukya-Nikatoro gṛhīta iti tasya putro 'nantayogyaś śrutvā Suriyarājye sthitvā Suvarṇṇakuḍyam prāpya yuddhaṅ kṛtvā sva-pitaram mocitum aśakyam ity avadhārya Suvarṇṇakuḍya-rājyañ ca Gandhāra-rājyañ ca Takṣaśilā-rājyañ ca Sugdha-rājyañ ca Paropaniṣadha-rājyañ ca Suvāstu-rājyañ ca Sindhu-rājyañ ca

Candraguptasya pradātum pratijñām pradāya Calukya-Nikatorasya duhitaraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣīñ ca pradātum pratijñām pradāya sandhānaṅ kṛtvā Suriyarājyam prāptah, Calukya-Nikatoras tu Candraguptena pradattaṁ hastibalaṅ gṛhītvā Suriyarājyam prāpy=Epsu-nāma-sthāne kṛte mahā-yuddhe jayaṅ gṛhītvā Suriyarājyam mahārājyaṅ kṛtvā rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Candraguptas tu mahāsenayā parivṛtaḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Dhananandarājañ ca tasya putram Balanandañ ca mārayitvā Magadharājyaṁ gṛhītvā Avantirājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Sudhanvarājenābhiyudhya tam parājayya Avantirājyaṅ gṛhītvā Surāṣṭrarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Sumitrarājenābhiyudhya tam parājayya Surāṣṭrarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Aparāntarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Mahānāgarājenābhiyudhya tam parājayya Aparāntarājyaṅ gṛhītvā etāni sarvāṇi rājyāni Magadharājyasya vaśe vartayituṁ sthāpayitvā Magadharājyam mahārājyaṁ kṛtvā sakalam Āryāvartam ekarājyaṅ kṛtvā Buddhavarṣe saptacatvāriṁśadadhikaikaśatame rājyābhiṣekaṁ labdhvā saptatriṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

IX. Account of Candragupta, as given in the Suvarnnapuravamsa.

Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe pradattānusāreṇa Candraguptarājasya vṛttāntam atra likhitum Parākramabāhurājenājñaptas tasmāt Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe pradattānusāreṇa Candraguptarājasya vṛttāntam atra likhyate.

Candraguptarājas tu Mayūrarājasya putro Mayūrarājas tu Mayura-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas-tu Pipphalivane Maurya-saṅghasya pramukhasya putraḥ Pāraśika-rājyam prāpya sthitvā Dhārayatuvasu-rājarājasya duhitarañ Candravarṇṇāṁ saṁvāhya sthitvā Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya sthitvā Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṁ labdhvā Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayuraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mrtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūras ca Takṣaśilāpure śatraprājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūras tu Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya sthitvā Dhananandarājasya duhitaran Nandinīṁ saṁvāhya sthītvā Magadharājye senāpatisthānaṁ labdhvā sthitvā Dhananandarājasya vipakṣo bhūtvā Yavanarājyam prāpya sthitvā Yavanarājena pradattabalaṅ gṛhītvā Pāṭaliputrapuram punar āgamya Dhananandarājena yuddhaṅ kṛtvā Pāṭaliputrapuraṅ gṛhītvā Magadharājyaṁ labdhvā pañca varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Tasya putre Candragupte Magadharājyaṁ labdhvā Pāṭaliputrapure rājyaṅ kārayan sthitasamaye Alakṣandarājaḥ Pañcanadarājyam prāpya sthita iti śrutvā

Candragupto Magadharājye balaṁ gṛhītvā Pañcanadarājyam prāptaḥ. Alakṣandararājaḥ Sindhurājyam prāpya sthitvā svarājyam prāpta iti śrutvā Pañcanadarājye sthitena Yavana-senāpatinā yuddhaṅ kṛtvā tam parājayya Pañcanadarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya tatra sthitena Yavana-senāpatinā yuddhaṁ kṛtvā Takṣaśilārājyaṁ gṛhītvā Sindhurājyam abhiyātum prasthitaḥ. Tasmin samaye Calukya-Nikatoras Takṣaśilāpuraṅ gṛhītum āgacchan Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāpya sthita iti śrutvā Candraguptas Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyābhimukhaṅ gatvā Maṇḍalagṛha-nāma-sthāne mahāyuddhaṁ kṛtvā Calukya-Nikatoram parājayyāgrahīt. Calukya-Nikatoras tv ātmānam mocayitum anyam prakāram apaśyan Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Suvāsturājyañ ca Paropaniṣadharājyañ ca Haryaśvarājyañ ca Gṛdhrāsyarājyañ ca Balakṣasthānarājyañ ca Sindhurājyañ ca pradātum pratijñām pradāya svaduhitaraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣīñ ca pradātum pratijñām pradāya Candraguptena pradattaṁ hastibalaṅ gṛhītvā svarājyam prāptaḥ.

Candraguptas tu Pañcanadarājye balaṅ gṛhītvā Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Magadharājye balañ ca Pañcanadarājye balañ ca gṛhītvā 'bhigamya Mālavarājyañ ca Avantirājyañ ca Surāṣṭrarājyañ ca Aparāntarājyañ ca vijitya sarvam Āryāvartam ekarājyaṅ kṛtvā Buddhavarṣe saptasaptatyadhikaikaśatame Pāṭaliputrapure abhiṣekaṁ labdhvā saptatriṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

X. Candragupta's Father and the Yavanas

Candragupta-rājasya pitā Śākya-rājaputras tu Pāṭaliputrapuram māpayitur Dhananandarājasya rājye Yavanarājyam prāpya sthitvā Yavanarājena pradattam balaṁ gṛhītvā punar āgamya sthitvā Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Dhananandarājena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā Dhananandarājam parājayya Pāṭaliputrarājyaṁ gṛhītvā Dhananandarājasya dhanañ ca gṛhītvā Pāṭilaputrapure rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛta iti Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe vyākhyātam. Rūmavāṇija-Alakṣandareṇa Pāṭaliputrapurasya māpanañ ca Dhananandarājasya rājyaprāptiñ c= Ālakṣandara-rājasya Pañcanadarājyaprāpteḥ pūrve vṛtta iti ca Alakṣandararājasya pūrve Jambudvīpasya ca Yavanarājyasya ca sambandhan nābhūd iti ca tasmāt Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya vṛttāntaṁ satyam iti gṛhītun na śakyam iti coktam. Pāṭalaputrapurasya māpanan tv Ajātaśatrurājena Buddhasya parinirvāṇāt pūrve kṛtam iti Vinayapiṭake prathamasaṁgītivastāv uktam. Tasmāt Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe Dhananandarājena Paṭaliputrapuran māpitam iti vṛttāntam asatyam iti gṛhītavyam. Kintu Candraguptarājasya pitā Śākyarājaputro Yavanarājyam prāpya sthitvā Yavanarājena pradattam balaṁ gṛhītvā punar āgamya sthitvā Dhananandarājena yuddhaṅ kṛtvā Pāṭaliputrapure rājyaṅ gṛhītvā rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛta iti vṛttāntam pratigṛhituṁ śakyam iti Garuḍācāryasya matam. Alakṣandararājasya Pañcanadarājyaprāpaṇāt pūrvam api Gandhārarājyasya samīpe Yavanarājyasya sthitim Alakṣandararājasya pravṛttāv eva vyākhyātam. Yavanarājyaprāpt Ālakṣandara-rājas tu svabāndhavān dṛṣṭvā 'tīva santuṣṭas teṣāṁ

svarājye sthātum ārādhanam akṛteti Strābavapaṇḍitasya pustake vyākhyātam iti Garuḍācāryasya matam. Rūmavāṇij= Ālakṣandaraś ca tan matam pratyagrahīt.

XI. The History of Candragupta as given in the Paramparapustaka, Chapter VIII

Paramparāpustake pradattānusāreṇa Candragupta-rājasya vṛttāntam atra likhitum Parākramabāhurājenājñaptas tasmāt Paramparāpustake pradattānusāreṇa Candraguptarājasya vṛttāntam atra likhyate.

Candraguptarājas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Mayūra-śatrapasya putro Mayūra-śatrapas tu Pipphali-vane Maurya-saṁghasya pramukhasya putraḥ Pārasikarājyam prāpya sthitvā Dhārayatuvasurājarājasya duhitarañ Candravarṇṇāṁ saṁvāhya Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya sthitvā Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṁ labdhvā Takṣasilāpure śatrapa-rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mrtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatrapa-rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatrapa-rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mrtaḥ. Tasya putro Mayūraś ca Takṣaśilāpure śatrapa-rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya jyeṣṭha-putraḥ Abhisāras Takṣaśilāpure śatrapa-rājyaṁ labdhvā śatrapa-rājyaṁ kārayan sthitaḥ. Dvitīyaputraś Candraguptaḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya sthitvā Dhananandarājasya duhitaraṁ Nandinīṁ saṁvāhya Magadharājye senāpatisthānaṁ labdhvā sthita iti śrutvā Artakṣayārṣarājarājas tv ātmanas sammatan nābhiyācya ca na labdhvā cānyarājasya duhitaraṁ saṁvāhya tasya senāpatisthānaṁ labdhvā sthita ātmano vipakṣo bhūtvā sthita ity avadhāryya Candraguptam baddhvā Pārśapuram preṣituṁ sandeśam Abhisārasya prāhiṇot.

Abhisāras tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā 'tīva citta-saṁkṣobham āpannaḥ svabhrātur abhivṛddhiṁ svamaraṇenāpi sādhayitun niścitya Candraguptam baddhvā Pārśapuram preṣitum ātmano na śakyam iti ca Magadharājye senāpatiṁ gṛhītuṁ Takṣaśilārājye balam pramāṇan na bhavatī ti ca khyātvā pratisandeśam prāhiṇot. Arttakṣayārśo rājarājas tat sandeśaṁ labdhvā 'tīvā prakuptio 'bhisāram baddhvā Pāraśapuram ānāyituñ ca Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyam Muruṇḍavaṁśaprabhavasya Kunālasya datvā 'tmano vaśe vartitum pratijñān tasya hastād gṛhītuñ cānyataraṁ senāpatim ādiśat. Sa senāpatir āgacchan sthita iti śrutvā Abhisāras svapakṣapātijanaiḥ sārdhaṅ giridurgam prāviśat. Sa senāpatir aśvasādhanas tasmād giridurgam praveṣṭum aśakyatvāc ca Abhisāran na gṛhītvā Pārśapuram prāptaś cet svāminaḥ kopam ātmanaḥ sakāśam āgantuṁ śakyam iti ca cintayitvā Abhisāro giridurgam praviśya sthita iti ca tam anubadhya yātum prasthitasamaye Abhisāras svahastenātmanaḥ prāṇān vyāpādya mṛta iti vārtā labdhvā svāmino 'bhiprāyañ jñātvā giridurgam praveṣṭum apekṣan sthita iti ca khyātvā sandeśam prāhiṇot.

Artakṣayārṣo Rājarājas tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā 'tīva śokāpanno 'bhisārasya bhrātur Abhayasya Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyam pradāyātmano vaśe sthātum pratijñān tasya hastād gṛhītum ādiśya pratisandeśam prāhiṇot. Kunālas tu Takṣaśilāpure śatraparājyam Abhayasya pradātum ādiśya sandeśaṁ Rājarājena preṣitam iti jñātvā svasenayā sārdhan Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya taṁ gṛhītvā Pārśapure sthitvā 'gatena senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Bāhlīkarājyābhimukhan tam palāpayitvā Pāraśika-mahā-rājyasya vaśe varttitum ātmanā dattām partijñām pratyākhyāya Takṣaśilārājyam punaḥ svayamparama-rājyaṁ kṛtvā Takṣaśilāpure rājyaṁ kārayan sthitaḥ. Atrāntare Artakṣayārṣo Rājarājo Miśararājyaṁ yuddhāyā 'gamat. Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya sthitaḥ Pārśapure sthitvāgatas senāpatiḥ Pārśapure adhikṛtānāṁ sandeśam prāhiṇot sarvan Takṣaśilāpure pravṛttaṁ vijñāpya. Pārśapure adhikṛtās tu Rājarāje Miśararājye sthitvā pratyāgate Takṣasilāpure pravṛttam pratibadhya ājñām pradāsyatī ti ca tadavasthām apekṣan svayam Bāhlīkarājye sthātavyan iti ca khyātvā (sandeśam prāhinvan).

Artakṣayārṣe Rājarāje Miśararājye sthitvā pratyāgate Bhaga-nāmā senāpatis tam mārayitvā tasya putrasya Ārṣasya Rājarājasthānam pradāya kiñcitkālābhyantare tam api mārayitvā Dhārayatuvasunāmnaḥ Pārasika-mahārājyam prādāt. Kunālas tv Ārṣasya Rājarājapadaprāptiṁ śrutvā tasya pakṣaṁ gṛhītvā sthita iti sandeśam prāhiṇot. Dhārayatuvasor mahārājyaprāptiṁ śrutvā yatkiñcin na kṛtvā sthitaḥ.

Abhisāras tu bahuṣv avasthāsu Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya Kunālasya senayā sārdham abhiyudhya bahūn bhaṭān mārayitvā 'pi Takṣaśilāpuraṁ gṛhītun nāśakat. Dhārayatuvasuḥ Pāraśikamahārājye abhiṣekaṁ labdhvā sthita iti śrutvā tasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradātum icchan sthita iti sandeśam prāhiṇot. Taṁ sandeśaṁ labdhvā Dhārayatuvasuḥ Abhisāro mṛta iti śrutvā sthitatvāt kenacid anyena tasya nāmnā sandeśam preṣitam ity avadhārya tam pratibadhyājñān na prādāt. Abhayaś ca svayam apy Abhisārasya sahāyo bhūtvā Kunālasya pratipakṣo bhūtvā sthita iti ca Pāraśikamahārājyasya vaśe vartitum pratijñām pradātum icchan sthita iti ca khyātvā Dhārayatuvasurājarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot. Dhārayatuvasurājarājena tatsandeśam api kenacid anyena Abhayasya nāmnā preṣitam bhavitavyam ity avadhāryya tam pratibadhya ca yā kācid ājñā na pradattā. Ataḥ param Abhisāraś ca Abhayaś ca kasya cid vaśe na sthitvā giridurgam āśritya Kunālasya vipakṣau svayamparamau bhūtvā sthitau.

Atrāntare Paramayavaneṣu Magadharājye sthitvā Alakṣandararājaḥ Pāraśikarājyam prāpya Dhārayatuvasunā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Pārśapuram abhigamya Pāraśikarājarājo bhūtvā sthitvā Takṣaśilāpuram api gṛhītum āgacchan sthita iti śrutvā Kunālas tasya pakṣaṁ gṛhītvā sthita iti ca prābhṛtāni pradattānī ti ca dūtamukhena vyajñāpayat. Alakṣandararājas tu Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya Takṣaśilārājyaṁ Kunālasya datvā Abhisārasya sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmānan draṣṭun nāgatam iti ca prābhṛtāni na preṣitānīti ca sapta-saptāhābhyantare nāgataṁ vā prābhṛtāni na preṣitāni vā cet tam baddhvā ātmanaḥ sakāśam ānāyituṁ Kunālam preṣitun niścitya sthita iti khyātvā. Abhisāras tv Alakṣandararājena yoddhum ātmanaḥ balan na pramāṇam ity avadhārya prābhṛtāni pradāya sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmā asvastho bhūtvā sthita iti ca svasthe bhūte āgantun niścitya sthita iti ca khyātvā. Alakṣandararājas tu svasenāpatin Takṣaśilāpure sthāpitvā Abhisāreṇa yoddhum bhavitavyam abhavac cet tathā kṛtvā Abhisāram baddhvā Takṣaśilāpuram ānāyya Kunālasya pradātum ādiśya svayaṁ Sindhunadīn tartvā Pañcanadarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Pauravarājenābhiyudhya tam parājyya tasya śauryātiśaye prasīdya tasya rājyam punas tasya datvā Śatahradanadītīram prāpya sthitvā Magadharājye Dhananandasya sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmano rājyam Alakṣandararājasya pradāya tasya hastāt punar gṛhītum ājñāpya. Dhananandas tv ātmano rājyam Alakṣandararājasya pradattam iti khyātvā sandeśam prāhiṇot. Alakṣandararājas tu, Dhananandasya rājyam punas tasya pradattam iti khyātva sandeśam prāhiṇot..

Tataḥ paścād Alakṣandararājas Sindhunadīmukhadvāram prāpya tatra sthitvā Bāverurājyam prāpya sthita iti śrutvā Abhisāras svasenayā sārdhan Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya tatra sthitena Yavana-senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam mārayitvā Takṣaśilāpuraṅ gṛhītvā Takṣaśilārājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā Pañcanadarājyam api gṛhītuṅ gatvā Pauravarājena parājitas Takṣaśilāpuram pratyāgamya sthitaḥ. Pauravarājaś ca Takṣaśilārajyaṅ gṛhītuṅ gatvā parājitas Sāgalapuram pratyāgamya sthitaḥ. Abhisāras tu punaḥ Pañcanadarājyaṅ gṛhītuṅ gatvā punaḥ parājitas Takṣaśilāpuram pratyāgamya sthitvā Pāṭaliputrapure sthitasya svabhrātuś Candraguptasya sandeśam prāhiṇot Pañcanadarājyaṅ gṛhītuṁ sāhāyyaṁ yācitvā.

Abhayas tu Brāhmaṇaveśadharo bhūtvā Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya svabhrātarañ Candraguptaṁ sammukhībhūtvā sarvam pravṛttaṅ kathayitvā Pañcanadarājyaṁ gṛhītuṁ sāhāyyan na labdhañ ced ātmano bhrātuś cātmanaś ca dvayor api Pauravarājasya vaśam prayātum bhaviṣyatīti ca tathā pravṛttān maraṇam bhadram iti khyātvā roditum prasthitah, Candraguptas tu svabhrātrā Abhayena kathitaṁ śrutvā svabhrātur Abhisārasya pravṛttaṁ sarvam āpadam ātmānam pratibadhya pravṛttam ity avadhārya Pañcanadarājyaṅ gṛhītvā tasya pradāyātmā 'nṛṇo bhavitavya iti niścitya Dhananandarājan dṛṣṭvā svabhrātur Abhisārasya pravṛttam sarvaṁ kathayitvā tatsarvam āpadam ātmānam pratibadhya pravṛttam iti ca tasmāt Pañcanadarājyaṁ gṛhītvā tasya pradāyā 'tmā 'nṛṇo bhūtvā Magadharājyasya vaśe sthātum pratijñā tasya hastād gṛhītavyeti ca khyātvā tathā kartuṁ senām ayācat.

Dhananandas tv ātmanā svarājyam Alakṣandararājasya datvā tasya hastāt punar gṛhītvā sthitatvād Alakṣandararājasya vaśe varttitum pratijñām pradāya sthitasya rājyaṅ gṛhītvā 'nyasya pradātun na yujyata iti ca tasmāt senām pradātun na śakyam iti cākathayat. Candraguptas tu svapakṣavarttibhis senāpatibhis sammantrya Dhananandarājasya vipakṣo bhūtvā Magadharājye balasyārdhaṅ gṛhītvā svabhrātrā sārdham Madhurāpuram prāpya sthitvā Abhisārasya sandeśam prāhiṇot atmā senāvāhanasahita āgamya sthita iti ca tasmād Abhisāreṇa Pauravarājena

sārdhaṁ yuddham punar ārabdhavyam iti ca khyātvā. Dhananandas tu Candraguptam anubadhya gṛhītvā Pāṭaliputrapuram ānāyituṁ senāpatim Madhurāpuram preṣayāmāsa. Candragupte tena senāpatinā yoddhum prasthite sa senāpatiś Candraguptena yoddhum aśakyam ity avadhārya Candraguptasya pakṣaṅ gṛhītvā sthita iti sandeśam prāhiṇot. Candraguptas tasya senāpates senayā ca svasenayā ca sārdham Pañcanadarājyam praveṣṭum prayātaḥ.

Tadavasare Abhisāras svasenayā sārdham Pañcanadarājyaṁ gṛhītum punar āgacchan sthita iti śrutvā Pauravarājas Sāgalapure sthitvā tasyābhimukham prāptum prasthitaḥ. Abhisāraḥ pratyāvṛtya svarājyaṁ gata iti śrutvā tam anubadhya tasya rājyam praveṣṭum ātmanas senā pramāṇabhūtā na bhavatītyavadhārya Sāgalapuram pratigantum ārabdaḥ. Tadavasare Candraguptas tasya pṛṣṭhata āgamya svasenayā tasya senāyāḥ prahartum ārabdhaḥ. Abhisāraḥ punaḥ pratyāvṛtya purataḥ prahartum ārabdhaḥ. Purataś ca pṛṣṭhataś ca prahāryamānā Pauravarājasya senā mahadvyasanam āpannā. Candraguptas tasya sandeśam prāhinod ātmano vaśe sthitvā Pañcanadarājyam pūrva iva kārayituṁ śakyam iti khyātvā. Pauravas tv Alakṣandararājasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradāya sthitatvāc Candraguptasya vaśe sthātun necchan svahastena svaśirṣañ chittvā yuddhabhūmāveva maraṇam prāptaḥ. Candraguptas tasyāntimasatkārāṇi kārayitvā Sāgalapuram praviśya Pañcanadarājyaṁ gṛhītvā svabhrātur Abhisārasya prādāt. Abhisāras tu svapitṛpitāmahaparamparayāgatan Takṣaśilārājyam ātmanā ca kārayitavyam iti khyātvā Pañcanadarājyam Abhayasya pradātum ayācat. Candraguptas tu tasya vacanam pratigṛhya Pañcanadarājyam Abhayasya prādāt. Candraguptas svasenayā sardhaṁ Sāgalapure sthitaḥ.

Atrāntare Alakṣandararājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā Alakṣandararāje mṛte Bāverurājyaṁ labdhvā Bāverurājyaṅ kārayan sthitaś Calukya-Nikatoro Bāhlīkarājyāyatte Takṣaśilāpure sthāpitaṁ senāpatim mārayitvā Abhisāraḥ Pañcanadarājyam api gṛhītum Pauravarājena yudhyan sthita iti śrutvā Abhisāreṇa Takṣaśilāpuraṅ gṛhitam iti Yavanabalasya mahatparibhavam iti ca tasmāt Takṣaśilāpuram punar gṛhītvā Bāhlīkarājyasyāntargataṁ kṛtvā Pañcanadarājyasya punaḥ kenāpi prahartum aśakyaṅ kartum pramāṇabhūtaṁ Yavanabalan tatra sthāpayitavyam iti ca khyātvā mahāsenayā parivṛto Bāverupure sthitvā Takṣaśilāpuram āgantuṁ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāptaḥ.

Candraguptas tu Calukya-Nikatoras Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāpya sthita iti śrutvā Takṣaśilāpuram prāptum tasya sthānam pradattañ cet paścāt tam parājitum atiduṣkaram bhavituṁ śakyam iti vicintya Abhisāreṇa ca Abhayena ca senāpatibhiś ca sammantrya yuddhopāyam upasthāpya Abhayasya senāyāś ca Magadharājye sthitvāgata-senādvayoś ca Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyābhimukham prayātuñ ca Abhisārasya senāyās Takṣaśilāpure sthitvā puraḥ prayātasenānām bhavitavyāny āhārapānādīni saṁgṛhya preṣayituñ ca saṁvidhānam akarot. Candraguptas tu svayam Magadhasenayā ca Abhayasya senayā ca parivṛtas Sāgalapurān niṣkramya

Puruṣapuram prāpya tatra sthitasya Parvata-nāma-Kirātādhipateḥ parivāreṇa ca sārdham Parvatena darśitena mārgeṇa Puruṣapurasya paścimottaradiśāyāṁ saptagavyūtidūre Maṇḍalagṛha-nāma-sthānam prāptaḥ

Tatra parvatadvayasyāntare sthitasya mārgasya pārśvadvaye svasenā nilīnās sthāpayitvā katipayāśvārohāṇām puraḥ pragamya nilinā bhūtvā sthitvā Calukya-Nikatorasya senāyām mārgam pratipannāyāṁ sahasā pratyāgamya vijñāpayitum ādiśat. Ta aśvārohās Calukya-Nikatorasya skandhāvārasya samīpe nilīnā bhūtvā sthitvā Calukya-Nikatorsaya senā mārgam āpanneti jñātvā sahasā pratyāgantum ārabdhāḥ. Calukya-Nikatorasya purogāmino'śvārohās tān aśvārohān dṛṣṭvā anubandhitum ārabdhāḥ. Te aśvārohāḥ parvatasya paścāt sthitvā Calukya-Nikatorasya aśvārohāṇam pṛṣṭhata āgamya tān prahṛtya hatvā Candraguptasya skandhāvāram prāpya Calukya-Nikatorasya senā mārgam āpanneti Candraguptasya nyavedayan. Candraguptas tu Parvatasya saṁjñām prādāt. Parvatas tu Magadharājye hastibalasyārdhaṁ sthāpayitvā purato mārgam arudhat. Calukya-Nikatoras tu purogāmino'śvārohā na pratyāgatā iti vijñāya śatrusenā āsanne sthitetyavadhārya sahasā 'bhigamya tāṁ senām prahartum ājñām prādāt. Calukya-Nikatorasya senā sahasā 'bhigamya mārgan tiraskṛtya sthitān hastino dūrato dṛṣṭvā te parvatā iti gṛhītvā mārgamūḍhā iti vicintya anyamārgenābhiyātum pratyāvṛttāḥ. Tasminnavasare Candraguptaḥ Parvatasya punaḥ saṁjñām prādāt. Parvatas tu hastibalasyetaram ardhaṁ sthāpitvā Calukya-Nikatorasya pratyāgamana-mārgam api rurodha. Candraguptas tu pārśvadvaye nilīya sthitānān dhanurdharānam bahir nirgamya sarvair ekaprahāreṇa veddhuṁ saṁjñām prādāt. Sarve te dhanurdharā bahir nirgamyaikaprahāreṇa śarān vyasṛjan. Hastipṛṣṭheṣu sthitā dhanurdharāś ca śarān vyasṛjan. Purataś ca pṛṣṭhatas ca pārśvadvayena ca prahṛtā Calukya-Nikatorasya senā mahadvyasanam āpannā.

Calukya-Nikatoras tv ātmanaḥ senā avaruddheti jñātvā mahatā dhairyeṇa senāyāḥ purato 'śvārūḍhaḥ sthitvā mahāsvareṇa bhaṭān āmantrya vayam avaruddhā iti khyātvā Yavanabhaṭānān dhairyañ ca śauryañ ca sthānocitakāryajñatāñ ca pradarśayitum avasthā āgateti ca sarvair bhaṭaiś śatrubhir mārge sthāpitaṁ hastisambādhan nirākartum ekībhūya prayatavyam iti ca khyātvā svayam mahāvegena dhāvitvā hastisambādham prāpya tasya prathamaśreṇyāḥ prathamahastinaḥ karaṁ khaḍgena karttitvā hastadvayenotsārya svasenāyāḥ pradarśya sarvair bhaṭaiḥ prayatitañ cet katipayapraharābhyantare hastisambādhaṁ sthānāc cyāvayituṁ śakyam iti ca khyātvā aśvārohair hastinas tomaraiḥ prahartuñ ca padātibhiḥ phalakākāreṇa gatvā hastināṁ karān khaḍgaiḥ kartituñ ca yantra-muktaśilābhir hastisambādham bhañjituñ cājñām prādāt.

Candraguptas tu svasenāyā aśvārohāṇāṁ hastisambādhasya purataḥ sthitvā Calukya-Nikatorasyāśvārohair ghaṭitvā tān pratyāvartayituñ ca pārśvadvaye sthithānān dhanurdharāṇāñ ca hastyārūḍha-dhanurdharāṇāñ ca phalakākāreṇābhigatānāñ Calukya-Nikatorasya padātīnām ekaprahāreṇa veddhuñ cājñām prādāt.

Anena prakāreṇa sarvadivasaṁ yuddham pravartitam. Divasasyāvasāne Calukya-Nikatorasya senāyā bahavo 'śvāś ca manuṣyās ca patitāḥ. Candraguptasya senāyā api mahaddhānir abhavat. Candraguptasyāśvārohāṇām bahavo yuddhamaṇḍalan na prāptāḥ. Hastisambādhāntarād bahūnām prayātum aśakyatvāt. Yuddhamaṇḍalam prāptāḥ sarvve Candraguptasyāśvārohā hatā vā kṣatā vā abhavan. Dhanurdharāṇām api bahavaś Calukya-Nikatorasyāśvārohaiś ca phalakākāreṇāgataiḥ padātibhiś ca kṣatā vā hatāḥ. Kintu teṣāṁ sthānāni pṛṣṭhatas sthitvānītair anyair gṛhītāni. Puraḥ sthite hastisambādhe prathamaśreṇyās sarve'pi hastinaḥ kṣatā vā hatāḥ. Dvitīya-tṛtiya-caturtha-pañcama-ṣaṣṭha-saptama-śreṇiṣv eko'pi hastī kṣato vā hato vā nābhavat. Hastisambādhaṁ sarva-rātrau sthitam. Hastīnāṁ sthitvaiva śayituñ ca grāsaṁ khādituñ ca śakyatvāt. Klāntahastinaḥ sambādhasthānād apanīya teṣāṁ sthāneṣu pṛṣṭhataḥ sthitvā'nītā anye hastinaḥ sthāpitāḥ. Sarvarātrau hastisambādham aśvārohai rakṣitam. Pṛṣṭhatas sthitasya hastisambādhasya hānir nābhavat. Tasyāpi klāntā hastino bahir apanīya teṣāṁ sthāneṣu pṛṣṭhatas sthitvā'nītā anyā hastinaḥ sthāpitāḥ.

Dvitīya-tṛtīya-caturtha-divaśesv apy anena prakāreṇaiva yuddham pravartitam. Caturthadivasasyāvasāne Calukya-Nikatorasya senāyās sahasrādhikasaṁkhyā aśvārohāś ca daśasahasrādhikasaṁkhyā padātayaś ca nihatāḥ. Kṣatānāṁ saṁkhyā tebhyo 'dhikā. Avaśiṣṭā aśvāś ca manuṣyāś ca klāntā bhūtvā sthitā api pañcamadivase 'pi yuddham pravartayitaṁ senā utsukā bhūtvā sthitā. Kintu senāyā bhavitavyam āhārapānādidravyam ānetun na śakyam iti ca pañcamadivase yuddham pravartayitavyañ cet senayā nirāhāreṇa yoddhum bhaviṣyatīti ca tathābhūtā senā Candraguptasya senayā sarvathā vināśituṁ śakyam iti ca ātmā jīvan sthitaś ced Bāverurājyañ ca Suriyarājyañ ca kārayituṁ śakyam iti cāvadhārya svasenāpatibhiś ca sammantrya Candraguptasya sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmā senāvāhanasathitaś Candraguptasya vaśam āgantum icchan sthita iti khyātvā.

Candraguptas tu tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā avaśiṣṭānāṁ śatrūṇāñ jīvitadānaṁ kṛtam iti saṁjñām prādāt. Calukya-Nikotaraś Candraguptasya skandhāvāram āgamya Yavanācāreṇa taṁ vanditvā nirāyudhaḥ pārśve sthitaḥ. Candraguptas tam pratigṛhya tasyāhārapānādīni pradātuṁ svaparijanān ājñāpayat. Calukya-Nikatorasya senāyām aśvānāṁ grāsañ ca manuṣyāṇām āhārañ ca pradātum ājñāpayat. Calukya-Nikatorasya senā nirāyudhīkṛtā Maṇḍalagṛhāt pañca-gavyūtidūre durgam preṣya tatrāvaruddhā sthāpitā.

Candraguptas tu svasenāyāḥ pariśrama-vinodanārthañ ca pratigamanasya saṁvidhānāni kartuñ ca katipayadināni Maṇḍalagṛhe sthitvā Takṣaśilāpuram abhiyātum prasthitāvasare Calukya-Nikatoras tan draṣṭum āgamyātmānam api Takṣaśilāpuram ānāyitum bhavitavyam ity apṛcchat. Candraguptas tu tam api Takṣaśilāpuram ānāyya tato Magadharājyam ānāyya jīvitāntan tatrāvarudhya sthāpayitun niścitya sthita ity akathayat. Calukya-Nikatoras tv-ātmano mocanaṁ kathaṅ kartuṁ śakyam ity apṛcchat. Candraguptas tu Pāraśikamahārājye mahā-

maṇḍalarājyasya pūrvadiśāyām Pāraśikamahārājyasyāyattāi bhūtvā sthitāḥi sarvāḥ pradeśāḥ ātmanaḥ pradattāś cet tvam mocayāmīty akathayat. Calukya-Nikatoras tu Suvaraṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Suvāsturājyañ ca pratigṛhyātmānam mocayitun na śakyam ity apṛcchat. Candraguptas tu tava mocanaprakāram mayā kathitam iti ca tvayā tan na pratigṛhītañ cet tvam Magadharājyam ānāyitum ājñāṁ samprati pradāsyāmīty akathayat. Calukya-Nikatoras tv ātmano duhitā Suvarṇṇākṣī Candraguptasya pradattā ced Bāhlīkarājyam ātmano haste sthātuṁ śakyam ity apṛcchat. Candraguptas tu Suvarṇṇākṣī ātmanaḥ pradattā ced Bāhlīkarājyañ Calukya-Nikatorasya haste sthātuṁ śakyam iti ca tasyāś śulkārtham pañcaśata hastinaḥ pradātum icchan sthita iti cākathayat.

Calukya-Nikatoras tu tāṁ sthāpanām pratigṛhya Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Suvāsturājyañ ca Paropaniṣadharājyañ ca Haryaśvarājyañ ca Gṛdhrāsyarājyañ ca Balakṣasthānarājyañ ca Sindhurājyañ ca Candraguptasya pradāsyāmīti pratijñām pradāya svaduhitaraṁ saptamāsābhyantare Takṣaśilāpuram preṣayitum pratijñām api pradāya Candraguptena pradattena hastibalena cāvaśiṣṭayā svasenayā ca parivṛtas svarājyam agamat.

Candraguptas tu mahāsenayā parivṛtas Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya tatra sthitenābhisāreṇābhinanditaḥ pratigṛhītaś ca katicid dināni tatra sthitvā svasenāyāḥ pratisaṁvidhānam akarot. Bahavo'śvāś ca hastinaś ca bhaṭāś ca svasenāyās saṁgṛhītāḥ. Parvatasya parivārañ ca svasenāyām antargatam. Parvatasya senāpatisthānam prādāt.

Candraguptas tv ātmanā labdharājyāni gṛhītvā saṁvidhātum Magadharājye sthitvāgataṁ senāpatim prerya mahāsenayā parivṛto Madhurāpuram prāpya tatra sthitvā Dhananandarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot Calukya-Nikatoram pratibadhya pravṛttaṁ sarvaṁ vijñāpya. Dhananandarājas tu pratisandeśam prāhiṇoc Calukya-Nikatoram Pāṭaliputrapuran nānāyitam iti codayitvā. Candraguptas tu dvitīyaṁ sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmano Magadharājyam pradattañ ced Dhananandarājasya ca tasya putrasya ca sukhena jīvitum pramāṇabhūtarājyam pradātuṁ śakyam iti. Dhananandarājas tu Candraguptasya Pāṭaliputrapuram prāptum ājñāpya punas sandeśam prāhiṇot. Candraguptas tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā Madhurāpurāt Pāṭaliputrapuram āgantum prasthitaḥ. Tacchrutvā Paṭaliputrapure sthito Dhananandarājasya senāpatiś Candraguptasya pakṣaṁ gṛhītvā sthita iti Candraguptasya sandeśam prāhiṇot. Candraguptas tu Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Dhananandañ ca tasya putram Balanandañ ca mārayitvā Magadharājyam agrahīt.

Tatra sthitvā Magadharājye sthitāṁ senāñ cātmanā sārdham Pañcanadarājyād āgatāṁ senāñ ca punaḥ pratisaṁvidhāya Magadharājye balena parivṛto Mālavarājyam prāpya Mālavarājenābhiyudhya Mālavarājyaṅ gṛhītvā tato'vantirājyam prāpyāvantirājenābhiyudhyāvantirājyaṅ gṛhītvā tatas Surāṣṭrarājyam prāpya Surāṣṭrarājenābhiyudhya Surāṣṭrarājyaṅ gṛhītvā tato'parāntarājyam prāpyā-

parāntarājenābhiyudhyāparāntarājyaṁ gṛhītvā anena prakāreṇa sakalam Uttarāpatham ekarājyaṁ kṛtvā Pāṭaliputrapure rājyābhiṣekaṁ labdhvā pañcaviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayitvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Svasti.

XII—Account of Bindusara, as given in the Rajavamsapustaka

Rājavaṁśapustake pradattānusāreṇa Bindusārarājasya vṛttāntam atra likhitum Māgharājenājñaptas tasmād Rājavaṁśapustake pradattānusāreṇa Bindusārarājasya vṛttāntam atra likhyate.

Bindusārarājas tu Candraguptarājena Suvarṇṇākṣyā ladbhaputraḥ. Suvarṇṇākṣī tu Calukya-Nikatorasya duhitā. Candraguptarājena Dhananandarājasya duhitrā Nandinyā ca putro labdho 'pi sa bālya eva mṛtas tasmād Bindusāreṇa rājyaṁ labdham.

Candraguptarājasya putro Bindusāras svapitus samagraṁ rājyam pratipadya Pāṭaliputrapure rājyābhiṣekaṁ labdhvā rajyaṁ kārayan sthitaḥ. Tasmin samaye Suriyarājye Anantayogya-rājas Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāpya sthita iti śrutvā Bindusārarājas svasenayā sārddhaṁ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāpya Anantayogyarājenābhiyudhya tam parājayya Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Paropaniṣadharājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Suvāsturājyañ ca Haryaśvarājyañ ca Gṛdhrāsyarājyañ ca Balakṣasthānarājyañ ca Sindhurājyañ ca sarva ete rājyā Bindusārarājāyattā iti Anantayogyarājena pratigṛhītatvāt tena sandhiṁ kṛtvā Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Yavanasenāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Bāhlīkarājyam Magadharājyasya vaśe vartayitvā sarvaṁ Yavanabalam abhibhūya svarājyam prāpya sthitaḥ.

Tasmin samaye Bindusāro Yavanarājyasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradāya Sindhurājye sthitasya Siṁhalasya kim abhavad iti pṛcchitvā Siṁhalaḥ Puṇḍramaṇḍale sthitvā Dakṣiṇāpatharājyaṁ kārayatīti khyāte kupito bhūtvā Dakṣiṇāpathaṁ vijitya Siṁhalam baddhvā Pāṭaliputrapuram ānāyituṁ Śastra-Dramiḍanāma-senāpatim ādiśat. Śastra-Dramiḍo Mahārāṣtramaṇḍalaṁ vijitya tatra sthitvā Karṇṇāṭamaṇḍalañ ca Mahiṣamaṇḍalañ va Pallavabhogyamaṇḍalañ ca Colamaṇḍalañ ca Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalañ ca vijitya Puṇḍramaṇḍalam prāpya Siṁhalaḥ kva sthita ity apṛcchat. Siṁhalo mṛta iti ca Siṁhalasya putro Muruṇḍa-Śivas Tāmraparṇṇidvīpam prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rājavaṁśan nirmūlya Tāmraparṇṇidvīpe rājyaṁ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇṇidvīpe rājyaṁ kārayan sthita it ca svasenayā sārdhan Tāmraparṇṇidvīpam prāptun naukānām atimahatsaṁkyā bhavitavyeti ca svalpasaṁkhyanaukābhir alpamātrasenayā sārdhan Tāmraparṇṇidvīpam prāpya Muruṇḍa-Śivam parājayitun na śakyam iti ca śrutvā Puṇḍrarājyam prāpya Puṇḍrarājyaṁ vijitam iti ca Siṁhalasya putram Muruṇḍa-Śivam vijitam iti ca Siṁhalo mṛta iti ca khyātvā Bindusārarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot. Bindusararājas tu tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā 'tīva prakupitas Śastra-Dramiḍan nirbhartsya sandeśam prāhiṇot Śastra-Dramiḍasya Siṁhalasya putram Muruṇḍa-Śivam baddhvā Pāṭaliputrapuram ānāyitum aśaktañ cec Chastra-Dramiḍam baddhvā Pāṭaliputrapuram ānāyitum anyaṁ senāpatim preṣayitun niścitya sthita iti khyātvā.

Śastra-Dramiḍas tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā'tīva manaḥsaṁkṣobham prāpya Tāmraparṇṇidvīpam prāptum prasthito bhūtvā sthita iti sandeśam prāhiṇot. Śastra-Dramiḍe bahuṣu naukāsu mahāsenām prasthāpya Tāmraparṇṇidvīpam prayātum prasthite caṇḍamārutena sarvā eva naukā bhagnāḥ senā ca vinaṣṭā. Śastra-Dramiḍa ātmano jīvitaṁ katham apyārakṣya sthitvā Bindusārarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot pravṛttam khyātvā. Bindusārarājas tu tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā 'tīva durmano bhūtvā sthitvā Tāmraparṇṇidvīpaṁ vijayitum atimahatprayatnam bhavitavyam iti ca Tāmraparṇṇidvipaṁ vijitya labdhuṁ śakyam arthan Tāmraparṇṇidvīpan na vijityāpi labdhuṁ śakyam iti ca khyātvā Muruṇḍa-Śivena sandhiṁ kṛtvā Colamaṇḍalañ ca Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalañ ca Puṇḍramaṇḍalañ ca Tāmraparṇṇidvīparājyasya vaśe sthitā iti pratigṛhya Tāmraparṇṇidvīparājyam mahārājyaṁ kartum Maruṇḍa-Śivasya sāhāyyam prādāt iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustake pradattānusāreṇa Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe ca vyākhyātam.

XII. Candragupta's Son Bindusara

Candraguptarājasya Suvarṇṇākṣyā labdhaputro Bindusāra iti Mahāvaṁśe vyākhyātam. Purāṇagrantheṣv api Bindusāra iti vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe tu Amitraghāta iti vyākhyātam. Bindusāra iti Pāraśikanāma. Mauryarājavaṁśas tu Pāraśikarājavaṁśaprabhava iti Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Pāraśikarājavaṁśaprabhave rājavaṁśe Pāraśikanāmnaḥ pravartanaṁ yuktam. Kintu Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitena Rūmavāṇijen Alakṣandareṇa Yavanapustakeṣv apy Amitraghāta iti nāma Candraguptarājasya putrasya labhyata ity uktam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu viśvaśanīyaḥ.

Mahāvaṁśaṭīkāyān tu Candraguptarājasya mahiṣī Bindusārarājasya mātā Puṣkarākṣī 'ti vyākhyātam. Puṣkarākṣī 'ti pāṭhaṁ Suvarṇṇākṣī 'ti pāṭhasya bhrama iva prajñāyate.

XIII—Descent of Candragupta, the Founder of the Gupta Dynasty

Guptavaṁśasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā Candraguptas tu Mauryavaṁsasya pratiṣṭhāpayituś Candraguptasya bhrātur Abhisārasya paramparānuyātaḥ.

Abhisāras tu Takṣaśilāpure rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro 'bhisāraś ca Takṣaśilāpure rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā Takṣaśilārājye Muruṇḍajanair abhiyudhya parājitaḥ Pañcanadarājyam prāpya svapiturbhrātur Abhayasya putrasya sakāśe sthitaḥ. Bindusārarājas tu svaputraṁ Dharmāśokam mahāsenayā sārdhan Takṣaśilāpuram preṣayitvā Muruṇḍādhipam parājayya tasya putran tasya rājapakṣabhāvasya satyāpa-

nārtham Pāṭaliputrapuram preṣayitum ādiśya Takṣaśilāpure rājyan tasya prādāt.

Abhisāras tu Pañcanadarājye sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro 'bhisāras tu Abhayasya putrasya putreṇa Abhayena sārdham abhiyudhya tam parājayya Pañcanadarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Pañcanadarājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Abhayas tu Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya mahāmātrasthānaṁ labdhvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Bindusārarāje mṛte tasya putras Tiṣyo Magadharājyañ ca mahārājyañ ca labhdvā Pāṭaliputrapure rājyaṅ kārayan sthitaḥ. Dharmāśoko 'vantirājye sthitvā mahāsenayā sārdham Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Tiṣyeṇābhiyudhya tam parājayya Pāṭaliputrapuraṅ gṛhītvā Magadharājyañ ca mahārājyañ ca labdhvā sthitaḥ.

Abhisāras tu Tiṣyarājasya pakṣaṅ gṛhītvā Pañcanadarājye sthitaḥ. Dharmāśokarājaḥ Pañcanadarājyam prāpya Abhisāreṇābhiyudhya tam parājayya Pañcanadarājyam mahārājyasyāntargataṁ kṛtvā Sāgalapure satrapaṁ sthāpayitvā Abhisāraṁ kārāgṛhe nyakṣipat. Paścād Dharmāśokarājo 'bhisāraṁ kārāgṛhān mocayitvā tasyāvantirājyam prādāt. Abhisāro Vidiśāpure Avantirājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Tasya putro 'bhisāras Śuṅgarājasya vipakṣo bhūtvā Pañcanadarājyam prāpya Dhīmitrarājasya maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mrtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Pañcanadarājye maṇḍaliko bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Guptas tu Sāhī-Kaniṣkasya rājye Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya sthitvā Licchavisaṁghasya pramukho bhūtvā sthito Licchavisaṁghasya balaṁ gṛhītvā Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya tatra rājyaṁ kārayan sthitam Bhāraśivavaṁśaprabhavaṁ Guhaśīvam mārayitvā Pāṭaliputrapuraṅ gṛhītvā Magadharājyam labdhvā Magadharājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mrtaḥ. Tasya putraś Candragupto Licchavisaṁghasya pramukhasya Mahāpadmasya duhitaraṅ Kumāradevīṁ saṁvāhya Samudraguptanāmaputrañ janayitvā Magadharājyam mahārajyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

XIV. On Royal Statues bearing the Burden of Sovereignty

Svasti. Vikramabāhurājaḥ Pulastipuraprāptadivasa eva mahatā parivāreṇa ca mahatā cittasantāpena ca svapituś citakasthānam prāpyātidīrghakālan tatra sthitvā svapitur guṇāni smṛtvā svapituḥ pratimāṁ rājyadhurandharākāreṇa kartum ājñāpayad iti ca Suvarṇṇapure sthitvāgatena Sthapatirāyara-nāma-sthapatinā sā pratimā kṛteti ca Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Rājyadhurandhara-pratimānāṁ lakṣaṇāni Pratimālakṣaṇapustakeṣu nāgatānīti ca kintu purāṇakāle Suvarṇṇapurarājye ca bahavo rājyadhurandharākāra-pratimā abhavann iti ca Vikramabāhurājena svapituḥ pratimā Tuṣaparvatavihārasamīpe parvatapārśve sthāpiteti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya dvitīya-punaḥpravartane vyākhyātam. Tuṣaparvatavihāras tu samprati Potgulvihāranāmnā prakhyātasthānam iti ca tatra samprati Parākramabāhurājasya pratimeti prakhyāta-pratimā sthāpiteti ca sā pratimā rajyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpiteti ca Pulastipuram prāpya sthitvā punar āgatena Dharmakīrti-sthavireṇoktam. Dharmakīrti-sthaviras tu Gaṇḍaladroṇivihāra-sthaviraḥ Pulastipure ṣoḍaśamahāsthānapadavīm api labdhvā tatra gatvā sthitvā Gaṇḍaladroṇivihāram punar āgamya sthitaḥ. Dharmakīrtisthavirasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam. Tasya Pulastipure purāṇasthānāni pratibadhya mahajjñānam astīti Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā Jayavardhanapuram prāpya sthitvā punas Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitena Buddhapriyācāryeṇoktam. Potgul iti samāsapadan Tuṣaparvata iti samāsapadasya parivartanam iti pratigṛhītuṁ śakyam iti Rāhulasthavireṇāpi pratigṛhītam. Rāhulasthaviras tu Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā Saṁskṛtabhāṣāñ ca Saṁskṛtavyākaraṇañ ca nyāyaśāstrañ ca darśanāni codgṛhya punarāgamya Tīrthagrāma-vihāre sthitvā dharmavinayaṁ śikṣāpayati. Tasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam. Rāhulasthavirasya matan tu Tuṣaparvata iti samāsapadan Tohopava iti parivartya pava iti padam parvata-vācīti vismṛtya gala iti padan nipātitam iti ca Tohopāgala iti sthitaṁ samāsapadam Pohotāgala iti ca Potāgala iti ca Potagala iti ca krameṇa parivartitānī ti. Rāhulasthavirasya matam pratigṛhītum yuktam. Rāhulasthavirasya Siṁhalabhāṣāyām mahatpāṭavam astīti Maṅgala-sthavireṇoktam. Mangalasthaviras tu Parpaṭavanavihāra-sthaviras Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya Saṁskṛtabhāṣāñ ca Saṁskṛtavyākaraṇañ ca nyāyaśāstrañ ca darśanāni cādhītya punas svarājyam prāpya Parpaṭavanavihāre sthitvā dharmavinayaṁ śikṣāpayati. Rāhulasthavireṇa pradattā Potugl iti samāsapadasya vyutpattis tu pratigṛhītavyeti Rājanārāyaṇa-paṇḍitenāpy uktam. Rājanārāyaṇapaṇḍitas tu Suvarṇṇapure Sundara-Pāṇḍya-rājasya purohitaḥ. Sundara-Pāṇḍya-rāje śramaṇabhūmim prāpte Jayavardhanapuram prāpya sthitvā Rāmacandra-Bhāratīśvarācāryasya duhitaraṁ Sundarīṁ saṁvāhya sthitvā Parākramabāhu-mahārājasyārthena dharmeṇānuśāsayan sthitas, tasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam. Potgulvihāre pratiṣṭhitā pratimā rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpiteti pratigṛhīte Suvarṇṇapurarājye ca Yavadvīparājye ca rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāptāḥ pratimā abhavann iti pratigṛhītum bhavitavyam. Suvarṇṇapura-rājye Sūryanārāyaṇa-mahārājasya pratimā rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpiteti Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya dvitīya-punaḥpravartane vyākhyātam. Sūryanārāyaṇamahārājas tu Jayagopa-mahārājasya putrasya Pralambahastasya putro Niśśaṁkamallarājasya duhitus Sarvāṅgasundaryāḥ bhartā Sulavasi-nāma-dvīpam prāpya tatra sthitam Mahammadīya-suratrāṇam parājayya Sulavasi-dvīpam Suvarṇṇapurarājyasya vaśe vartayitvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Pulastipure rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthito Māghamahārājas tasya putraḥ. Māghamahārajas tu Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā Pulustipuram prāpya sthitvā Parākrama-Pāṇḍyam mārayi-

tvā Pulustipure rājyaṁ kārayan sthitasamaye Jamburdroṇipure Parākramabāhu-rājasya bhāgineyena Vīrabāhurājena ca Sundara-Pāṇḍyarājena ca parājitas Suvarṇṇ-apuram prāpya śramaṇa-bhūmim prāptaḥ. Suvarṇṇapurarājyasya ca Siṁhala-rājyasya ca mahatsambandham abhavad iti Suvarṇṇapurarājye ca Siṁhalarajye ca rājñām pratimānām rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitatvāt sidhyata iti Rājanārayaṇa-paṇḍitenoktam. Rājanārayaṇapaṇḍitasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam.

Dharmāśokarājasya ca rājyadhurandhārakāreṇa catasraḥ pratimāḥ Pāṭaliputra-pure pratiṣṭhāpitā iti Phāhiyannāma-Cīna-sthavireṇa vyākhyātam. Phāhiyan-nāma-Cīna-sthaviras tu saptapañcāśadadhikāṣṭaśatame Siṁhalarājyam prāpya Abhaya-girivihāre sthitvā Mahāyāna-dharmapustakāni Cīnabhāṣām parivartayan sthitvā svarājyam prāptun nāvam āruhya samudramadhyagataś caṇḍamārutena vibhramya Suvarṇṇapuram prāpta iti ca svarājyam prāptun nāvam labdhuṁ saptamāsāni Suvarṇṇapure sthita iti ca saptamāsānām atyaye svarājyam prāptun nāvaṁ labdhvā Suvarṇṇapurāt pratiyāta iti ca Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravartane vyākhyā-tam. Mahāvaṁśasya punaḥpravartane Phāhiyansthavirasya nāmamātram api ne labhyate. Mahāvaṁśas tu Mahāvihāre paramparāgatavṛttāntāni vyākhyātuṁ viracita-pustakam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu Suvarṇṇapurarājye rajñāñ ca Suvarṇṇ-apurarājyasya sambandhabhūta-rājyeṣu rājñañ ca purāvṛttāni vyākhyātuṅ kṛtam purāvṛtta-saṅgraham. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu viśvasanīyaḥ. Phāhiyan-sthavirasya pustake Dharmāśokarājasya pratimā rājyadhurandharākāreṇa ṣṭhāpiteiti hasta-dvayena gṛhītvā sthitena śakaṭayugena prajñāyata ity uktam. Phāhiyan-sthavireṇa Cīnabhāṣayā likhitam pustakaṁ Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya Saṁskṛtabhāṣām adhītya Jambudvīpam prāpya sthitvā punaḥ Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā Mahāyāna-dharmapustakāni Cīnabhāṣām parivartayan sthitvā svarājyam prāptena Itsiṁ-sthavireṇa Saṁskṛtabhāṣām parivartya Suvarṇṇapure pustakabhāṇḍāgāre nidhā-pitam iti ca Paramparāpustakasya racayitrā Bhadrasthavireṇa Suvarṇṇapure sthitasamaye Phāhiyan-sthavirasya pustakam paṭhitam iti ca Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam.

Rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitā Dharmmāśokarājasya pratimāś catasro 'bhavann iti ca tāsu pratimāsv ekā Śaśāṁkarājena vikhaṇḍya sthitvā Dharma-pālarājena pratisaṁskārāpitā Mudgagiripure rājamandire sthiteti ca Suvarṇṇa-puravaṁśasya punaḥpravartane vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya dvitīya-punaḥ pravartanan tu Candrabhānu-mahārājena viracitam. Candrabhānu-mahārājas tu Candrabhānu-mahārājasya putraḥ. Candrabhānu-mahārājas tu Māgha-mahā-rājasya putro Māghamahārājas tu Sūryanārāyaṇa-mahārājasya putraḥ. Sūryanā-rāyaṇa-mahārājasya partimā rājyadhurandharākāreṇa Suvarṇṇapure pratiṣṭhāpitā.

Rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitā Dharmmāśokarājasya pratimā Pālarāja mandire pratiṣṭhiteti Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravartane vyākhyātaṁ satyam iti Pālarājye sthitvā Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā punas svarājyam prāptena-Pāla-rājadūetna Śivaśarmapaṇḍiten 'oktam. Śivaśarma-paṇḍitena Pāla-rā-

jānām Paramparāpustakaṁ viracitam. Pālarājānām Paramparāpustakasya racayitrā Pālarājan draṣṭum Pālarājamandiram prāptam iti bhavitavyam. Tasmāt tasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam.

Rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitā Dharmāśokarājasya pratimā Pālarā-jānām mandire pratiṣṭhiteti Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravartane vyākh-yātaṁ satyam iti Pālarājye sthitvā Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā punas svarājyam prāptena Gaṇapti-śreṣṭhinā 'py uktam. Gaṇapatiśreṣṭhī tu Pālarājye sthitasya vaṇiggrāmasya pramukhasthānam prāpya sthito vāṇijas tasmāt tasya Pālarājānām mandiram praveṣṭum avasaram abhūd iti pratigṛhītuṁ yuktam. Tasmāt rājya-dhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitā Dharmmāśokarājasya pratimā Pālarājānām mandire pratiṣṭhāpitā tena dṛṣṭeti khyātaṁ satyam iti pratigṛhītavyam. Pālarājamandire rājyadhurandharākāreṇa pratiṣṭhāpitā Dharmmāśokarājasya pratimā 'bhūd iti pratigṛhīte anyā rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitā Dharmāśokarājasya pratimā abhavann iti pratigṛhītuṁ śakyam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu viśvaśaniyaḥ (*thrice repeated*) Svasti. Pālarājamandire pratiṣṭhitā rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitā Dharmmāśokarājasya pratimā Bhaktyāra-Khalji-nāmnā Mahammadīya-senāpatinā punar vikhaṇḍāpayiteti ca hastadvayena śakaṭayugan dhṛtvā sthitāyās tasyāḥ pratimāyāḥ khaṇḍāni Moṁgir-nāma-sthāne sampratyapi santīti ca Suvarṇṇa-puram prāpya sthitvā punas svarājyam prāptena Rasula-Mahammada-nāmnā Mahammadiya-vāṇijenoktam. Rasula-Mahammada-nāma-vāṇijas tu Mahamma-dīyas tasya Mahammadīyarājyeṣu gamanāgamanasyāvasaram astīti pratigṛhītuṁ yuktam. Mahammadīyānām Mahammadīyarājyeṣu gamanāgamanāyāvasaram pratilabhyata iti Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā punas svarājyam prāptena Sahula-Hamida-nāmnā Surāṣṭrarājadūtenāpyuktam. Tasmāt Rasula-Mahammada-nāma vāṇijena Moṁgira-nāma-sthānam praptam iti ca tena rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthā-pitāyā Dharmāśoka-rājasya pratimāyāḥ khaṇḍāni dṛṣṭānīti ca pratigṛhītuṁ śakyam. Moṅgira iti samāsam Mudgagiri iti samāsasya parivartitākāram iti Śiva-śarmapaṇḍitenoktam. Śivaśarmapaṇḍitas tu Brāhmaṇas tena Saṁskṛtapade-bhyaḥ Prākṛtapadānām prabhavaṁ suṣṭhu parīkṣya labdhajñānam asti. Mudga iti Saṁskṛtapadam Vaṅgabhāṣāyām moṁ iti sthitam iti ca giri iti Saṁskrtapadam Uttara-Jambudvīpe sarvāsu bhāṣāsu gir iti sthitam iti ca Sivaśarmapaṇḍitenok-tam. Tasya vacanam pratigṛhītuṁ yuktam. Moṁgir iti nāma Mudgagiri iti nām-naḥ parivartanam iti pratigṛhīte Mudgagiripure rājamandire pratiṣṭhitāyāḥ rājya-dhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitāyāḥ Dharmāśokarājasya pratimāyāḥ khaṇḍāni sam-prati Moṁgir iti khyātasthāne pratilabhyata iti pratigṛhītum prabhavati. Rājya-dhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitānān Dharmāśokarājasya pratimānāñ catasṛṣv ekāyāṁ labdhāyām anyānām api sthitim anumantum prahbavati. Tasmāt Suvarṇṇa-puravaṁśasya punaḥpravartane vyākhyātavṛttāntam satyam iti pratigṛhītum yuktam.

Svasti. Pāṭaliputrapure sthitvā ca rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitāḥ pratimāḥ

pratilabdhā iti ca samprati Puraghaṭṭa-nāma-sthāne sthitāḥ pratimā rājyadhurandharākāreṇa sthāpitā iti ca samprati Puraghaṭṭa-nāma-sthānam purāṇakāle Pāṭaliputrapurasyāsanne 'bhavad iti ca Purāṇa-Pāṭaliputrapurasya samprati Paṭṭana-nāma-purasyādhikam mahattvam abhavad iti ca Puraghaṭṭa-nāma-sthāne pratimācatuṣṭayam purāṇakāle Magadharājye sthitānāṁ rājñām pratimā iti ca tāsv ekā 'jātaśatrurājasya pratimeti ca dvitīyā Candraguptarājasya pratimeti ca tṛtīyā Bindusārarājasya pratimeti ca caturthā Dharmaśokarājasya pratimeti ca Śivaśarmapaṇḍitenoktam. Śivasarmapaṇḍitas tu Brāhmaṇaḥ. Tena Dharmāśokarājasya śilālekhanāni paṭhitāni tasya vacanaṁ gṛhītavyam. Puraghaṭṭa-nāma-sthāne sthitapratimānām pādapīṭheṣu śilālekhanāni santīti ca teṣu śilālekhaneṣv eteṣāṁ rājñan nāmāni partilabhyanta iti ca Śivaśarmapaṇḍitenoktam. Sivaśarmapaṇḍitasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu viśvasanīyaḥ. Puraghaṭṭa-nāma-sthane sthitānām pratimānāṁ hastā khaṇḍitā apy avaśeṣa-khaṇḍeṣv-ākāraṁ rājyadhurandhara-pratimānām ākāram iti Śivaśarmapaṇḍitenoktam. Śivaśarmapaṇḍitasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu viśvasanīyaḥ.

Rājyadhurandharākārapratimānāṁ sampradāyam Mauryarājye sthitvā Siṁhalarājyam prāptam iti ca Siṁhalarājye sthitvā Suvarṇṇapurarājyam prāptam iti ca Rājasundara-paṇḍitenoktam. Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya purāvṛtta-gaveṣaṇe mahatpāṭavam astīti Śivaśarmapaṇḍitenoktam. Tasmāt Rājasundara-paṇḍitasya vacanam pratigṛhītavyam.

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Parākramabāhu-rājasya saptaviṁśatime Pulastipuram prāpya sthitvā punas svarājyam prāptena Pālarājadūtena Potgulvihāranāma-sthānam prāptam iti ca tatra sthitām pratimān dṛṣṭvā tasyā hastadvayasyākāram Pāla-rājamandire pratiṣṭhāpitāyā Dharmāśokarājasya pratimāyā hastayugasyākāreṇa samam iti khyātam iti paramparānuyātavṛttāntam.

XV. Buddhapriya's Yavanarajyavrttanta on Demetrius, the King of the Punjab

Svasti. Pañcanadarājyasya pritiṣṭhāpayitā Dhīmitrarājas tu Yuvasthadhīmannāmno Bāhlīkarājasya senāpateḥ putraḥ. Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattastv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattas tv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattas tu Mahālakṣandararājasya senāpatīnām ekatamaḥ. Yuvasthadhimāṁs tu Strātava-nāma-Bāhlīkarājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā Pañcanadarājyaṁ vijayituṁ Strātavarājasya sāhāyyam pradāya Strātavarājasya duhitaraṁ saṁvāhya Dhīmitranāmaputrañ janayitvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Strātavarājasya putras Strātavas tu Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya sthitvā svasvasuḥ putrasya Dhīmitrasya Pañcanadarājyan datvā tatrāsthāpayat. Dhīmitras tu Pañcanadarājye sthitvā Sindhurājyañ ca

Mālavarājyañ ca Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Takṣaśilārājyañ ca Mahiṣmatarājyañ ca jitvā Pañcanadarājyam mahārajyaṅ kṛtvā Bāhlīkarājyasya vaśe vartanam pratyākhyātum Strātavarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot, Strātavarājas tu svasvasuḥ putrasya vijayagrahaṇe santuṣṭaḥ Pañcanadarājyaṁ svarājyaṅ kṛtvā sandeśam prāhiṇot. Dhīmitrarājas tu tatsandeśaṁ labdhvā svamātulasya Strātavarājasya Pañcanadarājye senāpatisthānan datvā pratisandeśam prāhiṇot. Strātavarājas tu tatsandeśaṁ labdhvātīva prakupito yuddhaṅ kartum Pañcanadarājyam prāpya Dhīmitrarājena yuddhaṅ kṛtvā parājitas svarājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Dhīmitrarājas tu Pañcanadarājye 'bhiṣekaṁ labdhvā saptaviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Dhīmitrarājas tu Buddhavarṣe saptacatvāriṁśadadhike triśatatame rājyam prāpta iti ca Pañcanadarājye Buddhavarṣan tu Śakavarṣasya saptaviṁśatyadhika-ṣaṭchatenādhikam iti can Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam.

Svasti. Dhīmitrarājas tu Pañcanadarājye 'bhiṣekaṁ labdhvā Mauryarājasya Bṛhadrathasya sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmanaḥ Pañcanadarājye 'bhiṣekam vijñāpya. Bṛhadratharājasya senāpatis Tuṣāśvas tu Dhīmitrarājena yuddhaṅ kṛtvā parājito Bṛhadratharājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot sandhānaṁ kartum. Bṛhadratharājas tu svaduhitaraṁ Sundarīn tasya datvā tasya duhitaraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣīṁ svayaṁ saṁvāhya sandhānaṅ kṛtvā sthitaḥ svasenāpatinā Subrahmanāmnā Śuṅgarājena mārita iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Mauryavaṁśe ca Dharmāśokarājasya paścād Daśaratharājo rājyam prāptaś ca tasya paścād Subāhurājo rājyam prāptaś ca tasya paścād Bṛhadratho rājyam praptaś ceti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Mauryavaṁśasya kālagaṇanā tu Candraguptarājasya saptaviṁśati varṣāṇy Amitraghātarājasya pañcatriṁśad varṣāni Dharmāśokarājasya saptacatvāriṁśad varsāṇi Daśaratharājasya pañca varṣāni Sabāhurājasya saptadaśa varṣāni Bṛhadratharājasya pañca varsāṇīti ca Rājavaṁśapustke vyākhyātam. Mauryavaṁśasya pañcapañcāśadadhikaikaśatavarṣam iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātānusāreṇa Candraguptasya saptatriṁśad varṣaṇi cāmitraghātasya catuscatvāriṁśad varṣaṇi ca pradātum vartatī ti Paramparāpustake vyākhyāram. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas tu viśvasanīyaḥ.

Pañcanadarājye Yavanarājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā Dhīmitrarājas tu Strātavanāma-Bāhlīkarājasya svasuḥ putra iti ca Pañcanadarājye yauvarājye sthitvā Sindhurājyañ ca Sauvīrarājyañ ca Mādhyamikarājyañ ca Takṣaśilārājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca vijitya svamātulasya svamahārājye senāpatisthānam pradāya sandeśam prāhiṇod iti ca mātulas tu bhāgineyena yuddhan kartum āgamya parājitas svarājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛta iti ca Paramparāpustake vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustake tu Dhīmitro nāma rājā Bāhlīkarājyaṁ svarājyaṅ kṛtvā Pañcanadarājyañ ca vijitya sthitasya Yuvasthadhīmadrājasya putra iti ca Dhīmitras tu svapituḥ senāpatisthāne sthitvā Pañcanadarājyam ajayad iti ca vyākhyātam. Paramparāpustakan tu Pañcanadarājye Yavanarājyasya pratiṣṭhāpitavarṣe sthitvaikasahasratriśata-

pañcasaptativarṣebhyaḥ paścād viracitam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu Pañcanadarājye Yavanarājyasya pratiṣṭhāpitavarṣe sthitvā pañcaśatatriṁśadaṣṭavarṣebhyaḥ paścād viracitam. Tasmād Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam pratigṛhītavyam. Paramparāpustake vyākhyātan tyājyam. Dhīmitras tu Suriyamahārājye 'nantayogyarājasya bhāgineyo 'bhūd iti ca tasya duhitaraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣiṁ saṁvāhya sthitvā Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya Yuvasthadhīmatā yuddhaṅ kṛtvā tam parājitum aśaknuvatsthitasya Suriyarājasya ca Yuvasthadhīmataś ca sandhānaṁ kārayitum madhyastho bhūtvā sandhānam akārayad iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Rūmavāṇijenālakṣandareṇa Yavanapustakeṣv api tathaiva vyākhyātam ity uktam. Rājavaṁśapustakasya ca Paramparāpustaksya ca vṛttāntadvayād Rājavaṁsapustaka āgataṁ vṛttāntaṁ gṛhītavyam iti Rūmavāṇijālakṣandareṇoktam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśe Dhīmitrarājasya nāma na prajñāyate. Mahāvaṁśe Pañcanadarājyasya nāmam api nāgatam. Milindapraśne tu Devamantrīti nāmam āgatam. Devamantrīti nāma Dhīmitra iti nāmnaḥ paryāyam iti Rūmavāṇijenālakṣandareṇoktam. Rūmavāṇijasya mataṁ satyam iva prajñāyate. Kintu Devamantrī Mlindarājasyāmātyo bhūtvā sthita iti Milindapraśna āgatam. Tasmāt Devamantrīti nama Dhīmitra iti nāmnaḥ paryāyabhūtam api Milindapraśna āgato Devamantry anyaś ca Dhīmitrarājastv anyaś ceti nirṇītuṁ yuktam. Milindapraśnas tu Pañcanadarājye viracitam pustakam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Pañcanadarājye sthite Milindapraśnapustake prathamasaptapraśnamātraṁ sthitam iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Śeṣāḥ praśnās tu Siṁhaladvīpe kenacid viracitā iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya punaḥpravarttane ca Milindapraśnasya saptapraśnā eva satyā iti ca śeṣās tu Siṁhaladvīpe kenacid viracitā iti ca vyākhyātam. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśas ca Rājavaṁśaś ca viśvasanīyau. Milinda-praśne aṣṭamapraśne sthitvā śeṣāś ca Mahāvaṁśas ca na viśvasanīyāḥ. Suvarṇṇapuravaṁśasya jayam. Dhīmitras tu Buddhavarṣe saptacatvāriṁśadadhikadviśatatame Pañcanadarājye 'bhiṣekaṁ labdhvā saptaviṁśati varṣāni rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛta iti ca Pañcanadarājye Buddhavarṣan tu Sakavarṣasya triviṁśatyadhikaṣaṭchatavarṣairadhikam iti ca Rājavaṁśaputake vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu viśvasanīyam. Yavanapustakeṣu Dhīmitrasya rājyaprāptivarṣan nāgatam iti Rūmavāṇijenālakṣandareṇoktam. Paramayavaneṣu sthitaiḥ purāvṛttapustakānāṁ racayitṛbhiḥ Pañcanadarājye pravṛttāni pustakāni na labdhuṁ śakyam iti ca Pañcanadarājye pañcadaśavarṣāṇi sthitvā punar āgamya svapustakaṁ viracitasya Mahā-Buddharakṣita-sthavirasya haste Pañcanadarājye pravṛttasya purāvṛttapustakasya sthitim pratigṛhītum śakyam iti ca Rūmavāṇijenālakṣandareṇa vyākhyātam. Rūmavāṇijālakṣandarasya matan tu Rājasundarapaṇḍitenāpi pratigṛhītam. Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya matan tu Mahā-Buddharakṣitasthavireṇa Pañcanadarājye sthitvā punarāgamanasamaye Pañcanadarājye pravṛttam purāvṛttapustakaṁ svahastād ānītam iti. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu viśvasanīyam.

XVI. Account of Yuvasthadhimat (Euthydemu

(Being Chapter IX of the Paramparāpustaka)

Yuvasthadhīmato vṛttāntam atra likhitum Māgharājenājñaptasta parāpustake navama-paricchede pradattānusāreṇa Yuvasthadhīmato ...ntaṁ atra likhyate.

Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattas tv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattas tv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattas tv Alakṣandararājasya senāpatīnām ekatamaḥ.

Yuvasthadhīmataḥ pitā Appāladattas Suriyarājye dvitīya-Calukyarājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā Miśarayuddhe maraṇam prāptaḥ. Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tu Suriyarājye Anantayogyarājasya duhitaraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣīṁ saṁvāhya sthitvā Suriyarājye senāpatisthānaṁ labdhvā sthitaḥ Anantayogyarājena Bāhlīkarājyam prāpto Bāhlīkarājyaṁ svarājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitena Strātavarājena yoddhum. Anantayogyarājas tu varṣadvayam Balakṣapuram avarudhya sthitvā 'pi Strātavarājam parājitum aśakto bhūtvā svarājyam pratigantum prasthitaḥ Strātavarājena mitrasandhānaṅ kṛtvā yātum śakyam iti pṛcchitvā Yuvasthadhīmantaṁ Strātavarājasya śakāśam prāhiṇot. Strātavarājo Yuvasthadhīmantan dṛṣṭvā tasmin atimātram prasīdya Anantayogyarājasya sthāpanām pratigṛhya Yuvasthadhīmataḥ svaduhitarañ ca Bāhlīkarājye senāpatisthānañ ca pradātum icchan sthita ity akathayat. Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tv ātmā Anantayogyarājasya duhitaraṁ saṁvāhya sthita ity akathayat. Strātavarājas tv Anantayogyarājasya duhitā pañcamāsasyordhvam mṛtety udantam ātmanā labdham ity uktvā tad udantaṁ satyam abhavac ced ātmanaḥ sthāpanām pratigṛhītam pratijñām pradātuṁ śakyam ity apṛcchat. Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tu svabhāryā mṛteti śrutvā mahaccittasaṁkṣobham prāpya yatkiñcit kathitum aśakyabhūtas sthitvā Anantayogyarājasya sakāśam āgamya Strātavarājo mitrasandhānaṅ kartum icchan sthita iti khyātvā roditum prasthitah. Anantayogyarājas tu Yuvasthadhīmato rodanakāraṇañ jñātvā svaduhitā mṛtety udantam ātmanā ca labdham iti ca svarājyam pratiyātun niścayan tata eva prāptam iti ca khyātvā tam āśvāsayat. Yuvasthadhīmān Suriyarājyam pratyāgamya svabharyāyā maraṇam pratibadhya kartavyāni kārayitvā Strātvarājasya duhitaraṁ saṁvāhya Bāhlīkarājye senāpatisthānam pratigṛhya sthātum Anantayogyarājasya sammataṁ labdhvā Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya Strātavarājasya duhitaraṁ saṁvāhya Bāhlīkarājye senāpatisthānaṁ labdhvā sthitaḥ.

Yuvasthadhīmati Bāhlīkarājye sthite Pāṭaliputrapure Dharmāśokarājo mṛtaḥ. Dharmāśokarājasya dvitīyamahiṣyāḥ putras Tīvaro rājyaṅ gṛhītvā Dharmāśokarājasya prathamamahiṣyāḥ putran Takṣaśilāpure yauvarājyam kārayan sthitaṅ Kunālam baddhvā Pāṭaliputrapuram ānāyituṁ vā mārayitum ājñāpya senāpatiṁ Takṣaśilāpuram prāhiṇot. Kunālas tu svasenayā Pāṭaliputrapure sthitvāgatasya senāpateḥ senayā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayitum aśakyam ity avadhāryya svasenayā giridurgam prāpya sthitvā Yuvasthadhīmatas sandeśam prāhiṇot Pāṭali-

putrapure rājyaṅ gṛhītum ātmanaḥ sāhāyyam pradattañ cet Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyan tasya pradātum pratijñām pradāya. Yuvasthadhīmān Bāhlīkarājasya sammataṁ labdhvā Bāhlīkarājye senayā sārdhan Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya Pāṭaliputrapure sthitvāgatena senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Kunālasya pakṣaṁ gṛhītvā sthātum tasyādiśat. Pāṭaliputrapure sthitvāgatas senāpatiḥ Kunālasya pakṣaṁ gṛhītvā sthātum pratijñām adāt. Yuvasthadhīmān Pāṭaliputrapure sthitvāgatasya senāpates senayā ca Kunālasya senayā ca Bāhlīkarājye senayā ca sārdham Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Tīvarasya senayā 'bhiyudhya tām parājayya Magadharājyaṅ gṛhītvā Kunālasya pradāya svasenayā Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāpya Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṅ gṛhītum prasthitas tatra Kunālena sthāpitena senāpatinā Yuvasthadhīmataḥ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṅ gṛhītun na pradātavyam iti khyātvā sandeśam Kunālarājena preṣitam ityārocya Yuvasthadhīmatā 'bhiyoddhum ārabdhaḥ. Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tena senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Kunālarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot pravṛttam vijñāpya. Kunālarājas tu Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam Yuvasthadhīmataḥ pradātum pratijñā ātmanā na pradatteti ca Yuvasthadhīmatā gṛhītaṁ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam ātmanaḥ senāpateḥ punaḥ pradātavyam iti ca tathā na pradattañ cet svayam āgamya Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Yuvasthadhīmantam mārayitun niścitya sthita iti ca khyātvā pratisandeśam prāhiṇot. Tatsandeśam labdhvā Yuvasthadhīmān dvitīyaṁ sandeśam prāhiṇot Kunālarājasyāgamanam apekṣan sthita iti khyātvā. Atrāntare Takṣaśilārājye sthitānām Muruṇḍajanānām adhipatiḥ Kunālarājasya vipakṣo bhūtvā sthita iti śrutvā Kunālarājo Magadharājye balena sārdhaṁ Takṣaśilāpuram prāptaḥ. Muruṇḍādhipatiḥ svasenayā Magadharājye balena yoddhun na śakyam ity avadhārya giridurgam prāpya sthitaḥ, Kunālarajaḥ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṅ gṛhītuṁ svasenayā Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyābhimukham pratipanna iti śrutvā Muruṇḍādhipatiḥ svasenayā sārdhaṁ giridurgād āgamya Kunālarājasya prayāṇamārgam avarudhya sthitvā Kunālarājasya senayā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Kunālarājañ ca tasya senāñ ca gṛhītavān. Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tu Kunālarājo Muruṇḍādhipatinā gṛhīta iti śrutvā svasenayā sārdham āgamya Muruṇḍādhipatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Kunālarājañ ca tasya senāñ ca mocayitvā Kunalarājaś ca tasya senā cātmanaḥ gṛhītakā iti Kunālarājasya nyavedayat. Kunālarājas tu Yuvasthadhīmatas Takṣaśilārājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Suvāsturājyañ ca pradāyā 'tmano duhitaraṁ Sundarīñ ca pradātum pratijñām pradāyā 'tmānañ ca senāñ ca mocayitvā Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya pañcavarṣāṇi rājyaṅ kārayan sthitas Tīvarsya putreṇa Daśarathena māritaḥ. Daśarathas tu Pāṭaliputrapure Magadharājyābhiṣekaṁ labdhvā Buddhasamayam pratyākhyāya Brāhmaṇasamayam pratigṛhya rājyaṅ kārayan sthitasamaye Pañcanadarājyaṁ Yuvasthadhīmatā gṛhītam iti śrutvā mahāsenayā Pañcanadarājyam prāpya Yuvasthadhīmatā 'bhiyudhya parājitaḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram pratyāgamya saptavarṣāṇi rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitaḥ Kunālarājasya putreṇa Bṛhadrathena māritaḥ. Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tu Pañcanadarājyam

ātmano yauvarājyavaśena sthāpitvā Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Suvāśturājyañ ca Takṣaśilārājyañ ca Bāhlīkarājyasya vaśe sthātuṁ sthāpitvā Pañcanadarājyaṁ svabhrātur Yuvakratudhasya datvā svayam Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya Strātavarājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Yuvakratudhas tu Yuvasthadhīmato maraṇāt pañcavarṣasya pūrve mṛtaḥ. Pañcanadarājyaṁ Yuvasthadhīmataḥ putreṇa Dhīmitreṇa labdham iti Paramparāpustake keṣucit pratīkeṣu pradattam pratigṛhītavyam.

XVII. On Demetrius, Being Chapter X of the Paramparapustaka

Pañcanadarājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā Dhīmitrarājas tu Yuvasthadhīmataḥ putro Yuvasthadhīmāṁs tv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattas tv Appāladattasya putraḥ. Appāladattas tv Alakṣandararājasya senāpatīnām ekatamaḥ. Yuvasthadhīmān Strātavanāma-Bāhlīkarājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā Pañcanadarājyaṁ vijayituṁ Strātava-rājasya sāhāyyam pradāya Strātavarājasya duhitaraṁ saṁvāhya Dhīmitranāma-putrañ janayitvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Strātavarājasya putraḥ Strātavo Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya svasvasuḥ putrasya Dhīmitrasya Pañcanadarājye yauvarājyam pradāya tan tatrāsthāpayat. Dhīmitras tu Pañcanadarājye sthitvā Sindhurājyañ ca Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Takṣaśilārājyañ ca Mālavarājyañ ca Māhiṣmatarājyañ ca vijitya Strātavarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot Bāhlīkarājyasya vaśe sthātun dattām pratijñām pratyākhyāya. Strātavarājas tu svasvasuḥ putrasya vijayagrahaṇe santuṣṭaḥ pratisandeśam prāhiṇot Pañcanadarājyaṁ svarājyaṅ kṛtvā. Dhīmitras tu dvitīyaṁ sandeśam prāhiṇot Strātavarājasya Pañcanadamahārājye senāpatisthānam pradāya. Strātavarājas tu tatsandeśam labdhvā 'tīva prakupitaḥ svasenayā sārdham Pañcanadarājyam prāpya Dhīmitren 'ābhiyudhya parājitas svarājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Dhīmitras tu Buddhavarṣe saptacatvāriṁśadadhikadviśatatame Pañcanadarājye 'bhiśekaṁ labdhvā Mauryarājasya Bṛhadrathasya sandeśam prāhiṇod ātmano 'bhiṣekaṁ vijñāpya. Bṛhadratharājas tu svasenāpatin Tuṣāspam Pañcanadarājyam prāhiṇod Dhīmitrarājenābhiyoddhum. Bṛhadratharājasya senāpatis Tuṣāspas tu Dhīmitrarājenābhiyudhya parājito Bṛhadratharājasya sandeśam prāhiṇod Dhīmitrarājena sandhiṁ kartum upadiśya. Bṛhadratharājas tu svaduhitaraṁ Sundarīn Dhīmitrarājasya pradāya Dhīmitrarājasya duhitaraṁ Suvarṇnākṣīṁ svayaṁ saṁvāhya sandhiṅ kṛtvā sthito Magadharājye senāpatinā Subrahma-nāma-Śuṅga-Brāhmaṇena māritaḥ.

Subrahma-nāma-Suṅga-Brāhmaṇe Magdharājyaṁ labdhvā sthita-samaye tasya putro 'gnimitras Sindhurājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Dhīmitrarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya Sindhurājyaṅ gṛhītvā Pañcanadarājyañ ca gṛhītum Pañcanadarājyam prāpto Dhīmitrarājena parājitaḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram pratyagamat.

Suṅgarājas tu svayaṁ Sindhurājyam prāpya tatra sthitayā senayā ca sārdham Mālavarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Dhīmitrarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Mālavarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Māhiṣmatrājyam prāpya tatrasthitena Dhīmitra-

rājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Māhiṣmatarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Paṇḍarapurarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Dhīmitrarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Paṇḍarapurarājyaṁ gṛhītvā Pañcanadarājyam api gṛhītum Pañcanadarājyam abhigantum prasthito bhūtvā Dhīmitrarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot purve Mauryarājyasya vaśe sthitāni sarvāṇi rājyāny ātmanaḥ pradātum ājñāpya. Tathā na pradattāni cet svayam āgamya tāni gṛhītvā Dhīmitram mārayitum abhigacchan sthita iti ca khyātvā. Dhīmitrarājas tu Suṅgarājasya pratisandeśam prāhiṇot svayam Bṛhadratharājasya duhitaraṁ saṁvāhya sthita iti ca tasmān Mauryarājyasya svāmī iti ca Bṛhadratharājam mārayitvā Mauryarājyam prahṛtya sthitam mārayitvā punar Mauryarājyam pratiṣṭhāpayitum Pāṭaliputrapuram āgacchan sthita iti ca khyātva. Dhīmitratajaḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram abhiyātum Madhurāpuram prāptas tatra Suṅgarājena parājitaḥ Sāgalapuram pratyāgamya sthitaḥ.

Suṅgarājas tu Sāgalapuram prāptum aśakyo bhūtvā Pāṭaliputrapuram pratyāgamya sthitaḥ. Suṅgarājas tu Sāgalapuram abhiyātum saṁvidhānāni kurvvan Madhurāpure sthitaḥ Śātakarṇirājaḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram abhiyātum prasthita iti śrutvā Pāṭaliputrapuram pratyagamat.

Dhīmitrarājas tu Sāgalapure rājyaṁ kārayan sthitaḥ svarājye pañcaviṁśatime svaputram Mayanendram yauvarājye 'bhisiñcya sthitvā svarājye saptaviṁśatime paralokam prāptaḥ.

XVII a — An extract from the Rajavamsapustaka Giving an account of Sophytes and Antimachos Theos

Survarṇṇakuḍyarājye sthitaḥ Subhūti-nāmā Ātreyagotraprabhavo rāajputraḥ svaduhitaram Alakṣandara-rājasya prādāt. Tayā Yavanarājena putro labdhaḥ. Tasya nāma Saubhūtir ity abhavat. Vayasi prāpte Saubhūtiḥ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṁ svavaśe sthāpayitvā saptavarṣāṇi Candraguptarājasya vipakṣo bhūtvā Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṁ kārayan sthitaś Candraguptarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya parajitaḥ svaparivāreṇa sārdhaṁ Suriyarājyam prāpya tatra sthitasya Calukya-Nikatora-rājasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradāya Suriyarājye senāpatisthānaṁ labdhvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Suriyarājye senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraś ca Suriyarājye senāpatir bhūtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Tasya putraḥ Ātreyīmātṛkanāmā Suriyarājye Anantayogyarājasya vaśe sthātum pratijñām pradāya Bāhlīkarājye śatrapasthānaṁ labdhvā Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya tatra śatraparājyaṁ kārayan sthitaḥ svayaṁ Yavanarājavaṁśaprabhava iti ca tasmāc Calukya-Nikatorasya paramparānuyātasya vaśe sthātun na yuktam iti ca khyātvā Bāhlīkarājyaṁ svayamparamarājyam iti śrāvayitvā Vāhlīkarājyaṁ kārayan sthitaḥ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyaṁ gṛhītum āgamya tatra sthitena Sūryadvāra-śatrapenābhiyudhya parājitaḥ punar Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya Bāhlīkarājyaṁ kārayan sthitaḥ.

Anantayogyarājas tena sārdhaṁ yuddhaṁ kartuṁ Divyadyota-senāpatim preṣayāmāsa. Ātreyīmātṛkas tu Divyadyota-senāpatinā'bhiyudhya parājitaḥ Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena senāpatinā cābhiyudhya parājitaḥ Sārasvatarājyam prāpya sthitaḥ. Tasmin tatra sthite Divyadyota-senāpatiḥ svayamparamo bhūtvā sthitvā Bāhlīkarājye janā rājavaṁśaprabhavaṁ rājye sthāpayituṁ ghaṭanāṁ kurvantīti jñātvā Ātreyīmātṛkasya nāmnā svayaṁ rājyaṁ kurvan sthita iti śrāvayitvā Ātreyīmātṛkasya nāmañ ca svavaṁśasya pratiṣṭhāpayitur Yuvasthadhīmato nāmañ ceti nāmadvayam ātmanā gharṣiteṣu suvarṇamudriteṣu pradattam.

XVIII. An Account of King Mayanendra (Menander, Milinda): Being Chapter XI of the Paramparāpustaka

Dhīmitra-rājasya putre Mayanendre Pañcanadarājyam prāpya sthita-samaye Agnimitra-nāma-Suṅgarājo Haryaśva-nāma-Pārthava-rājena mitro bhūtvā sthitaḥ. Haryyaśva-rājas tvAgnimitra-rājasya sāhāyyam pradātum Pāraśikarājye sthitān Yavanajanān niravāsayat taiḥ Pañcanadarājyam prāpya sthātuṁ śakyam iti ca Pañcanadarājyam mahad-dhana-dhānya-sampanna-rājyam iti ca samprati tatra sthitair Yavanajanair yuddhvā Pañcanadarājyaṅ gṛhītun duṣkaran na bhavatī ti ca Pāraśikarājye Yavanajanaiḥ kartavyan nāstī ti ca khyātvā.

Pāraśika-rajye sthitā Yavanajanāḥ Pañcanadarājyaṅ gṛhītum prasthitās Takṣaśilāpuram prāptā iti śrutvā Mayanendrarājaḥ Sāgalapurān niṣkramya Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya sthitvā Pāraśikarājye sthitvāgatānāṁ Yavanajanānām pramukham Agraśīlan draṣṭum icchan sthita iti khyātvā sandeśam prāhiṇot. Agraśīlas tu Mayanendrarājan draṣṭum āgataḥ. Mayanendrarājas tam atimahadgauraveṇa cādareṇa ca pratigṛhya tena sārdhaṁ sambhāṣaṇaṅ kurvan sthitaḥ purāṇakāle Paramayavaneṣu Spārtapurasya ca Hastināpurasya cāntare pravṛttayuddham pratibadhya kathayitvā samprati Pāraśikarājye Haryyaśvarājaś ca Magadharājye Suṅgarājaś ca Yavanajanānāṁ vināśāya prayatau bhūtvā sthitāv iti ca Pāraśikarājye sthitvāgatair Yavanajanaiḥ Pañcanadarājye Yavanajanair yuddham ārabdhañ cet Suṅgarājasya tau dvāvapi pakṣau vijayituṁ śakyam bhaviṣyatīti cākathayat. Agrasīlas tu Mayanendrarājenoktaṁ satyam iti pratigṛhya Pāraśikarājye shitvāgatānāṁ Yavanajanānāṁ vāsāya pradeśam pradātuṁ śakyam ityapṛcchat. Mayanendrarājas tu samprati teṣāṁ vāsāya pradeśam pradātuṁ śakyam iti ca paścāt tair eva yatitvā tato bhadrataram pradeśam gṛhītum śakyam iti cākathayat. Agraśīlas tāṁ sthāpanām pratigṛhya Pañcanadarājyasya paścimabhāge Rājasthāna-nāma pradeśe ātmanā sārdham āgatās striyaś ca bālakāṁś cāsthāpayat. Mayanendrarājas tu Pāraśikarājye sthitvāgatair aśvārohaiś ca svasenāyā aśvārohaiś ca sārdhaṁ Sindhurājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Suṅgarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Sindhurājyaṅ gṛhītvā Mālavarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Suṅgarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Mālavarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Māhiṣmatarājyam

prāpya tatra sthitena Suṅgarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Māhiṣmatarājyaṁ gṛhītvā Sāgalapuram prāpya Agraśīlasyātmanā 'bhirucitam pradeśaṁ gṛhītum ādiśat. Agraśīlas tu Sindhurājyam bhadram iti khyātvā Pāraśikarājye sthitvāgatān Yavanajanān tatra saṁnyaveśayat. Evam Mayanendrarājena svapitur Dhīmitrarājasya vaśe sthitāni sarvāṇi rājyāni punar vijitya svavaśe sthāpitāni.

Mayanendrarāje Sāgalapuram pratyāgamya sthite Agnimitrarājaḥ Pañcanadarājyaṁ gṛhītum punar abhigamya Madhurāpuram prāpya sthitvā Khāravelaḥ Kaliṅgarājaḥ Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Pāṭaliputrapuraṁ gṛhītvā Magadharājye 'bhiṣekaṁ labdhuṁ saṁvidhānāni kurvan sthita iti śrutvā sahasā Madhurāpurāt pratyagamat. Mayanendrarājas tu tataḥ saptamāse vyatīte mahāsenayā sārdhaṁ Magadharājyaṁ vijayitum prasthito Mudhurāpuram prāpya tatra sthitenĀgnimitrarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya Madhurāpuraṁ gṛhītvā svasenāpatin tatra sthāpitvā Śūrasenarājyam Pañcanadarājyasya vaśe vartayitum sthāpitvā Pāṭaliputrapuram abhyetum sthita iti śrutvā Agnimitrarājaḥ svasenāpatim Pāṭaliputrapure sthāpitvā svayaṁ Mahākosalarājyam prāpya tatra giridurgam āśritya sthitaḥ. Mayanendrarājas tu Pāṭaliputrapuraṁ gṛhītvā svasenāpatin tatra sthāpitvā Agnimitram anubandhya yātum prasthitaḥ Śāketapure sthito Agnimitrasya sāmanto Nāgavaṁśaprabhavo Bṛhatsvātimitranāmā svasenayā sārdham Pāṭaliputrapuram āgacchatī ti śrutvā tasyābhimukham prayātum prasthitaḥ.

Bṛahatsvātimitras tu svasenayā sārdham pratyāvṛtya Sāketapuram prāpya puradvārāṇi pidhāya purasyābhyantare sthitaḥ. Mayanendrarājas tu Sāketapuram prāpya tam avarudhya sapta māsāni yuddhvā 'pi puraṁ gṛhītun nāśakat. Atrāntare Bāhlīkarājye Strātavarājasya putro 'ntalikitarājas Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya sthita iti śrutvā Pāṭaliputrapuram Bṛhatsvātimitrasya pradāya tena sārdhaṁ sandhānaṁ kṛtvā svasenayā sārdhaṁ Sāgalapuram prāpya sthitvā Antalikitarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot tasya svarājyam prāpya sthātum khyātvā. Antalikitarājas tu Mayanendrarājasya Bāhlīkarājye senāpatisthānam pradātum āgamya sthita iti khyātvā pratisandeśam prāhiṇot. Mayanendrarājas tu Takṣaśilāpuram prāpya Antalikitarājenābhiyudhya tam parājayya Bāhlīkarājyābhimukham palāpayitvā Sāgalapuram pratyāgamya sthitaḥ svarājye pañcaviṁśatime svaputram Antalikitam yauvarājye sthāpayitvā svarājye saptatriṁśatime Nāgasenasthavireṇa vivādaṁ kṛtvā parājitaḥ śramaṇabhūmim prāpya sthitvā svarājye navatriṁśatime paralokam prāptaḥ.

XIX. The Succession of the Greek Kings of the Punjab and their dates from the Yavanarajyavrttanta

Yuvasthadhīmataḥ putro Dhīmitro Buddhavarṣe nava-saptatyadhike dviśatatame Pañcandarājyam prāpya sthitvā svarājye pañcaviṁśatime svaputram Mayanendraṁ yauvarājye sthāpayitvā saptaviṁśativarṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Dhīmitrarājasya putro Mayanendro Buddhavarṣe ṣaḍadhikatriśatatame svayaṁ rājyam prāpya yauvarājye pañcaviṁśatime svaputraṁ Sūryadvāraṁ yauvarājye sthāpayitvā sthitvā svarājye saptatriṁśatime Nāgasenasthavireṇa vivādaṁ kṛtvā parājitaḥ śramaṇabhūmim prāpya sthitvā svarājya ekonacatvāriṁśattame mṛtaḥ. Mayanendrarāje śramaṇabhūmim prāpya sthite'pi tasya rājyavarṣāṇi pravṛttāni.

Mayanendrarājasya pañca putrā abhavan. Mayanendrarājaḥ śramaṇabhūmim prāptum pūrve jyeṣṭhaputrasya Sūryadvārasya Pañcanadarājyañ ca dvitīyaputrasya Appāladattasya Sindhurājyañ ca tṛtīyaputrasya Panthalayanasya Māhiṣmatarājyañ ca caturthaputrasya Yuvakratudhasya Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca pañcamaputrasya Sotara-Magāparanāmno Yuvasthadhīmatas Takṣaśilārājyañ ca pradāya Appāladattaprabhṛtayaḥ Sūryadvārasya vaśe sthātavyā iti samādiśat.

Mayanendrarājasya putraḥ Sūryadvāras tu Buddhavarṣa ekonatriṁśādhike triśatatame yauvarājye sthāpitaḥ sthitvā Buddhavarṣe tricatvāriṁśadadhike triśatatame svayaṁ rājyam prāpya sthitvā yauvarājyavarṣe pañcaviṁśatime svaputram Appāladattaṁ yauvarājye sthāpayitvā tataḥ saptavarṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Suryadvārasya rājye Paṇḍarapure Bhāgapautrarājaḥ Sudhanvanāma-Suṅgarājena parājitaḥ Sāgalapuram prāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Sūryadvārarājasya putraḥ Appāladattas tu Buddhavarṣe catuḥpañcāśadadhike triśatatame yauvarājyam prāpya sthitvā Buddhavarṣa ekaṣaṣṭhyadhike triśatatame svayaṁ rājyam prāpya sthitvā yauvarājyavarṣe pañcaviṁśatime svaputraṁ Sūryadvāraṁ yauvarājye sthāpayitvā tataḥ pañcadaśavarṣasya paścān maraṇam prāptaḥ.

Appāladattasya putras Sūryadvāro Buddhavarṣe navasaptatyadhike triśatatame yauvarājyam prāpya sthitvā Buddhavarṣe caturnavatyadhike triśatatame svayaṁ rājyam prāpya sthitvā yauvarājye pañcaviṁśatime svaputraṁ Sūryadvāraṁ yauvarājye'sthāpayat. Tataḥ saptavarṣe vyapagate Mitradattanāmnā Pārthavarājena Pañcanadarājyaṁ vijitam. Sūryadvārarājaḥ svaputreṇa ca parivāreṇa ca sārdhaṁ Sindhurājyam prāpya sthitvā svayaṁ rājyam prāptavarṣe sthitvā saptaviṁśatime maraṇam prāptaḥ

Mitradattaputrasya Parṇṇadhattanāma-Pārthavarājasya samaye Mahālakṣandararājasya senāpatir bhūtvā sthitasya Yuvakratudhasya paramparānuyāto Yuvakratudhaḥ Pañcanadarājyaṁ vijitya Buddhavarṣe caturviṁśatyadhike catuśśatame rājyam prāpya saptadaśa varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya duhitary Ahatakalyāyāṁ svabhartrā Strātavena sārdhaṁ sapta varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitāyaṁ Vindaparṇṇena Pārthavarājena Pañcanadarājyam punar vijitam. Tataḥ pañca varṣe vyatīte Kuśānavaṁśaprabhavena Mogahājaputreṇa Skandaśiṣyeṇa Pañcanadarājyaṁ vijitam.

Mogharājas tu Uttarakurūṣu sthitvā Bāhlīkarājyam prāpya tatra rājyaṁ kārayan sthitena Devapriya-rājenābhiyudhya tam parājayya mārayitvā Bāhlīkarājyam agrahīt. Devapriyarājasya putro Yuvakratudhas tu svasenayā sārdham Pañcanadarājyam prāpya tatra sthitena Pārthavarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya

Pañcanadarājyam agrahīt.

Mogharājas tu Bāhlīkarājye sthitvā Sugdharājyañ ca Suvarṇṇakuḍyarājyañ ca Suvāsturājyañ ca Gandhārarājyañ ca Takṣaśilārājyañ ca gṛhītvā svaputraṁ Skandaśiṣyaṁ Bāhlīkarājye sthāpayitvā svayan Takṣaśilāpure ṣoḍaśa varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Tasya putraḥ Skandaśiṣyas tu Pañcanadarājyaṁ vijitya Sāgalapure sapta varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Skandaśiṣyas tu svapituḥ samagraṁ rājyam pratipadya Māhiṣmatarājyañ ca Avantirājyañ ca Mālavarājyañ ca Sindhurājyañ ca vijitya Sāgalapure sthitvā pañcaviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Kaniṣkas tu Buddhavarṣe saptāsītyadhike catuśśatame svapituḥ samagraṁ rājyam pratipadya Sāgalapure sthitvā Madhurāpuraṁ gṛhītvā sarvāṇi Yavanāyattarājyāni svavaśe sthāpayitvā pañcapañcāśad varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ.

Appāladattarājasya putraḥ Appāladattaḥ śramaṇabhūmim prāpya sthitvā Siṁhalarājyam prāpya sthitvā tataḥ Priyaṅgudvīpam prāpya sthitvā tataḥ Paramabhuvanarājyam prāpya tatra Buddhaśāsanam pratiṣṭhāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Appāladattasthavirasya nāma Siṁhalavastuprakaraṇe Yavanarājaputrasthavira ity āgatam. Paramabhuvanarājyan tasmin samaye Mlecchajanapadam iti vyavahṛtam. Siṁhalavastuprakaraṇe Mlecchapūrvanāma-Paramabhuvanarājyam iti sthitvā samprati Milakkhapubbaṅgama iti sthitam.

Appāladattarājasya samaye Sindhurājye sthitair Yavanajanaiḥ Pāraśikarājasya sāhāyyaṁ labdhvā svayamparamarājyam pratiśṭhāpitam. Appāladattarājas svasenayā sārdhaṁ Sindhurājyam prāpya tatra rājyaṁ kārayan sthitena Yuvasthadhīmatā yuddhaṁ kṛtvā tam parājayya mārayitvā tasya putrasya Yuvasthadhīmataḥ Sindhurājyam pradāya Sindhurājyam Pañcanadarājyasya vaśe sthāpayituṁ saṁvidhānam akarot.

Appāladattarājasya samaye Bhāgavata-nāma-Suṅgarājaḥ Paṇḍarapurarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Paṇḍarapure dhvajastambham pratyatiṣṭhāpayat. Appāladattaḥ svasenayā sārdham Paṇḍarapuram prāpya Bhāgavatarājasya senāpatinā 'bhiyudhya tam parājayya svaputraṁ Sūryadvāraṁ tatrāsthāpayat.

Etās siddhayo Rājavaṁśapustake pradattā Yavanarajyavṛttānte na pradattā apyatra pradattāḥ

XX. King Bhagabhadra of the Garuda Pillar Inscription

Paṇḍarapure purāṇakāle sthitasya Pāraśikarājyasya ca Pañcanadarājyasya ca sambandham abhavad iti ca Pañcanadarājye Sūryadvārarājasya dūtaḥ Suryādhvaryu-nāmnā Paṇḍarapuran dautyena prāpya tatra sthitasamaye Garuḍadhavajam utsthāpitam iti ca tasmin Garuḍadhvaje śilālekhanam pratiṣṭhāpitam iti ca tasmin samaye Paṇḍarapure sthitasya rājño nāma Bhāgapautra iti ca Rājavaṁśapustake

vyākhyātam. Paramparāpustake tu rājño nāma Suṅgavaṁśasya daśamo rājā Bhāgavata iti ca Bhāgavatarājasya samaye Sūryadvāranāmā Yavanarājadūtas Takṣaśilārājye sthitvā Pañcanadarājyam prāpya tatra sthitvā Paṇḍarapurarājyam prāpta iti ca vyākhyātam.

Bhāgapautrarājasya samaye Paṇḍarapurarājyaṁ Suṅgarājena Sudhanvanā vijitam iti ca Bhāgapautrarājas tu Pañcanadarājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛta iti cā vyākhyātam. Sudhanvā iti Suṅgarājasya nāma Purāṇagrantheṣu na labhyata iti Rājasundarapaṇḍitenoktam. Sudhanvā iti Mauryarājasya nāma Divyāvadāne labhyate. Sudhanvā iti kasya cid api rājasya viśeṣaṇavaśeṇa prayuñjitum śakyam iti Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya matam.

Rājavaṁśapustakasya ca Paramparāpustakasya ca virodham prajñāyata iva. Tasmāt Paṇḍarapure śilāstambhe sthitasya śilālekhanasya pratirūpaṁ Suvarṇṇapure sthitasya Surāṣṭrarājadūtasya sāhāyyena Mālavarājadūtasya mārgena labdhvā Sumaṅgalācāryasya ca pradarśya paṭhitam. Asya śilālekhavasya pāṭham atra pradīyate.

* * *

Paṇḍarapure sthite dvitīye stambhe dve śilālekhane staḥ. Tayoḥ prathamaśilālekhane Bhāgatvatadharmaṁ saṁkṣepeṇa khyātvā viracitaṁ ślokam asti. Tasyātra prayuñjanan nāsti. Tasmāt tasya pāṭham atra na pradīyate.

Śilālekhanasya pāṭhaṁ viśadam. Paṇḍarapure sthitasya rājño nāma Bhāgabhadra iti ca viśadam. Kintu Bhāgabhadra iti samāsapadasya Saṁskṛtaśabdaśāstrānusāreṇa yatkiñcid ucitārtham pradātun na śakyam. Bhāgasya bhadra iti tatpuruṣa-samāsam iti vigṛhya vā Bhāga eva sa Bhadra eva sa iti karmadhārayasamāsānusāreṇa vigṛhya vā pudgalanāmasyocitam arthaṁ gṛhītuṁ na prabhavati. Tasmād Bhāgabhadra iti nāma Prākṛta-nāmnaḥ Saṁskṛtarūpapradānena siddhaṁ nāma iva prajñāyate. Bhāgapautra iti Bhagaputra iti samāsapadasyāṇpratyayam padadvayasyaiva pradānena Bhāgapautra iti sthite Bhāgapotra iti ca Bhagapotta iti ca Bhagapatta iti ca Bhagabadda iti ca parivartya sthite Prākṛtasamāsapadasya punaḥ Saṁskṛtarūpasya pradānena siddha iti gṛhītum śakyam. Bhāgapautra iti rūpam Buddharakṣita-sthavireṇaiva pradattam. Pudgalanāmnāṁ vyākaraṇaśāstrasya prativiruddhākāreṇa viparyayāṇi bhavantīti prakaṭam. Suvarṇṇavarṇṇa iti nāmnaḥ Ponnavan iti viparyayam Āndhrabhāṣāyāṁ sthitam. Tasmāt Bhāgabhadra iti nāma Bhagaputrasya putrasya nāma iti pratigṛhītum yuktam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu viśvasanīyam.

Bhāgabhadra iti nāma Bhāgavata iti nāmnaḥ paryāyam iti Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya matam. Rājasundarapaṇḍitasya matam pratigṛhītun na śakyam. Bhāgabhadra iti nāmnaḥ purve Trātara iti viśeṣaṇapadam āgatam. Trātara iti Grīkabhāṣāyāṁ Sotera iti padasya Saṁskṛtarūpam. Grīkaśabdasya Saṁskṛtarūpam Śuṅgavaṁśyasya rājño nāmnaḥ puraḥ sthāpitam iti gṛhītun na śakyam. Śuṅgavaṁśyās ta Brāhmaṇāḥ. Brāhmaṇāḥ Yavanā Mlecchā iti pratigṛhṇanti.

Mlecchajātīyānāṁ rājñaṁ nāmnām puraḥ sthitasya padasya Saṁskṛtarūpam Brāhmaṇa-vaṁśa-prabhavarājasya nāmnaḥ puraḥ sthāpayitum avasarum pradattam iti bhavitun na śakyam. Tasmāt Paṇḍarapure stambhe sthite śilālekhana āgataḥ Paṇḍarapurarājaḥ Śuṅgavaṁśyo rājeti pratigṛhītun na śakyam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tu viśvasaniyām.

Paṇḍarapure sthitayoḥ stambhadvayor ekaḥ pure sthitvā gavyūtidvayamātra-dūre sthitaḥ. Dvitīyaḥ purasyāsanne sthitaḥ. Dvitīyastambhe Śuṅgarājasya Bhāga-vata-nāmnaḥ śilālekhanam asti. Bhāgavatanāmā Śuṅgavaṁśe daśamo rājā. Tasya śilālekhanasya ca prathamastambhe sthitasya śilālekhanasya cāntaraṁ śatavarṣa-pramāṇam ity akṣararūpāṇām pariṇāmeṇāvagantuṁ śakyam. Tasmāt prathama-stambhe sthitaśilālekhane khyāto Bhāgabhadrarājaś ca dvitīya-stambhie sthita-śilālekhane khyāto Bhāgavatarājaś caikapudgalo bhavituṁ na śakyam. Bhāgavatarā-jasya ca Śuṅgavaṁśe prathamarājasya cāntaraṁ śatavarṣapramāṇam bhavituṁ śakyam iti Purāṇagrantheṣv āgataiḥ purāvṛttair jñātum śakyam. Tasmāc Chuṅga-vaṁśasya pratiṣṭhāpayituḥ samakāle Bhāgabhadrarājaḥ sthita ity avagantuṁ śakyam. Śuṅgavaṁśasya pratiṣṭhāpayituḥ samakāle Pañcanadarājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā Dhīmitrarājaḥ sthita iti Yavanagrantheṣvāgataiḥ purāvṛttair jñātuṁ śakyam. Pañcanadarājyasya pratiṣṭhāpayitur Dhīnitrarājasya samaye Paṇḍarapurarājye Bhāgapautrarājas Sudhanvanāmnā Śuṅgarājena parājitaḥ Pañcanadarājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛta iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam. Tasmāt Sudhanvarājaś ca Śuṅga-vaṁśasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā Subrahma-nāma-rājaś caika-pudagalo bhavituṁ śakyam. Sudhanva-padañ ca Subrahma-padañ ca samarūpākṣaraiḥ Saṁskṛtabhāṣāyāṁ likhyete. Tasmāt Sudhanvanāmā ca Subrahma-nāmā caikapudgala iti grahaṇaṁ sukaram bhavati. Sudhanvanāmā ca Subrahmanāmā caikapudgala iti gṛhīte Bhāgapautrarājaś ca Dhīmitrarājaś ca samakālikāviti nirṇītuṁ śakyam. Dhīmitra-rājaś ca Bhāgapautrarājaś ca samakālikāviti gṛhīte Dhīmitrarājasya naptuḥ Sūrya-dvārarājasya dūtaḥ Paṇḍarapurarājyam prāpya sthita iti gṛhītun na śakyam.

Miśararājye Tulumāya-Philadalphasya putrasya Tulumāya-Evuragatasya (putraḥ) Sūryadvārarājo Kurīṇarājyam prāpya sthita iti Kalyamaghanāmakaver Vinaṣṭakeśapāśa-nāma-kāvye vyākhyātam. Tasmāt Paṇḍarapure prathamastambhe sthite śilālekhane khyātaḥ Sūryadvāra-nāmā rājā Kurīṇarājye Sūryadvāra-nāmā rājeti grahaṇam yuktam.

Kurīṇa-rājyasya ca Paṇḍarapurarājyasya ca sambandham abhavad iti gṛhītuṁ śakyam. Dharmāśokarājaś ca Kurīṇarājye Sotara-Maga-nāma-rājaś ca mitrau bhūtvā sthitāv iti Dharmāśokarājasya śilālekhaneṣvāgatam. Dharmāśokarā-jasya maraṇāt paścāt Mauryarājye patite tatra tatra pradeśeṣu sthitāḥ śatrapāḥ svayamparama-rājyāni pratiṣṭhāpya sthitā ity avagantuṁ na duṣkaram. Paṇḍara-purapradeśe sthitaḥ śatrapaḥ Pāraśikajātiya iti pratigṛhītum prabhavati. Girina-garaparvate sthite Rudradāma-śatrapasya śilālekhane Mauryarājyasamaye Parṇṇa-dattanāmā Pāraśikajātiyaśatrapaḥ Surāṣṭrarājye sthita iti vyākhyātam. Surāṣṭra-

pradeśe Pāraśikaśatrapaḥ sthita iti pratigṛhītañ cet Surāṣṭrapradeśasya vardha-yitvā Pāraśikarājyasyāsannabhūte Paṇḍarapurapradeśe ca Pārasikaśatrapaḥ sthita iti pratigṛhītum prabhavati. Pāraśikaśatrapaḥ Paṇḍarapurapradeśe sthita iti pratigṛhite Mauryarājyasya patanāt paścāt sa Pārasīkaśatrapaḥ svayamparamarā-jyam pratiṣṭhāpya sthita iti ca pratigṛhītum prabhavati. Śuṅgarājye pratiṣṭhāpite sarvāṇi svayamparamarājyāni Suṅgarājye 'ntargatabhūtāni kartuṁ vyavasāyitam iti ca Pārasikaśatrapasya putrasya Bhāgapautrasya rājyañ ca Suṅgarājye 'ntargataṁ kṛtam ityavaśāyituṁ śakyam.

XXI. Reference to Simhalas in Greek Texts

Siṁhala-padaṁ Yavanapustakeṣu nāgatam. Kintu Grāmaṇeya-padaṁ Siṁhala-padasya paryāyam iti Sumaṅgalācāryasya matam. Grāmaṇeya-padam api Yavana-pustakeṣu nāgatam. Kintu Brāmaṇeya iti padam āgatam. Brāmaṇeya padan tu Grāmaṇeya-padasya bhramam iti Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitasya Rūmavāṇi-jasya Alakṣandarasya matam. Sumaṅgalācāryas tu Śārīputrasthavirasya śiṣyaḥ. Grāmaṇeya-padam Mahābhārate Sindhukūlāśritasya Kṣatriyavargasya nāmevāgatam iti Sumaṅgalasthavireṇoktam.

XXII. Origin of the Sinhalese Royal Family

Siṁhala-rāja-vaṁśo Rājavaṁśapustake tu Yavana-rājavaṁśaprabhava iti vyākhyātam. Rājavaṁśapustakan tv Abhayagirivihāre sthitam Paramparāpustakam. Yavanarājavaṁśas tv Alakṣandararājasya paramparei vyākhyātam. Alakṣandararājas tu Magadharājye sthitvā Pāraśikarājyam prāpya tatra sthitan Dhārayatuvasunāma-Rājarājam parājayya Pāraśikarājyaṁ gṛhītvā Pāraśikarājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā Takṣaśilārājyam prāpya tatra sthitam Muruṇḍarājam parājayya tasya rājyan tasya datvā Sindhunadīm uttīrya Pañcanadarājyam prāpya tatra sthitam Paurava-nāma-Muruṇḍarājam parājayya tasya rājyan tasya datvā Sindhunadīmukhadvāram prāpya tatra sthitaṁ Siṁhalam parājayya tasya rājyan tasya datvā svaduhitarañ ca tasya pradātuṁ Siṁhalena sandhānaṁ kṛtvā Pāraśikarājyam prāpya tatra sthitvā Bāverurājyam prāpya sthitvā mṛta iti Rājavaṁśapustake vyākhyātam.

Siṁhalas tu Sindhunadīmukhadvāre sthitvā Calukya-Nikatorasya svasāraṁ Suvarṇṇākṣīṁ saṁvāhya Muruṇḍa-Śivanāma-putrañ janayitvā Sindhunadī-mukhadvārāt Puṇḍrarājyaṁ prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rājavaṁśaṁ nirmūlya Puṇḍra-rājyaṁ gṛhītvā Puṇḍrarājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā Tāmraparṇṇirājyam prāpya tatra sthitaṁ rājavaṁśan nirmūlya Tāmraparṇṇirājyaṁ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇṇirājyañ ca Puṇḍrarājyañ ca kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putras tu Muruṇḍa-Śivas Tāmra-parṇṇirājyañ ca Puṇḍrarājyañ ca labdhvā ṣaḍviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Puṇḍrakābhayarājas tu Puṇḍrarājyañ ca Siṁhala-rājyañ ca labdhvā saptatriṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā Anurādhapuram māpayitvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putras Tiṣyas Candraguptarājasya naptur Dharmā-

śokarājasyādrṣṭamitro bhūtvā saptaviṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya bhrātā Uttiyarājo Dharmāśokarājasya bhrātaram Mahāmahendrasthaviram pratigṛhya Tāmraparṇṇidvīpe Buddhaśāsanam pratiṣṭhāpya ṣoḍaśa varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Mahāśīvas tu Puṇḍrarājyañ ca Tāmraparṇṇirājyañ ca hitvā Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasyaḥ putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putro Dhṛṣṭagrāmaṇy Abhayaḥ Suvarṇṇapurarājena pradattaṁ balaṁ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇṇirājyam prāpyailārarājena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā rājyaṁ gṛhītvā 'ṣṭaviṁśati varṣāny Anurādhapure rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mrtah. Tasya bhrātā Śraddhātiṣyas tv Anurādhapure saptadaśa varsāṇi rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ· Tasya putraḥ Khallāṭa-Nāgas Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mrtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapurarājena pradattabalaṅ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇṇidvīpam prāpya Śubharājena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā rājyaṁ gṛhītvā Lambakarṇṇavaṁśasya pratiṣṭhāpayitā bhūtvā Vṛṣabharājanāmena saptatriṁśati varṣāṇi rājyaṅ kṛtvā sthitva mṛtaḥ.

XXIII. Early Kings of Ceylon

Dharmāśokarājas tu Uttiyarājasya sandeśam prāhiṇot Puṇḍrarājyaṁ svaputrasya Kunālasya pradātum. Uttiyarājas tu tatsandeśan na pratyagrahīt. Dharmāśokarājas tu svasenāpatim Mahāriṣṭam preṣayāmāsa Puṇḍararājyaṁ gṛhītvā svaputrasya Kunālasya pradātum. Mahāriṣṭas tu Puṇḍrarājyam prāpya Puṇḍrarājyaṅ gṛhītvā Puṇḍrarājyaṅ Kunālasya datvā Pāṭaliputrapuram prāpya Dharmāśokarājan dṛṣṭvā svakṛtan tasya nyavedayat. Dharmāśokarājas tu Mahāriṣṭe prasīdya Puṇḍrarājyan tasya prādāt. Mahāriṣṭas tu Puṇḍrarājyam prāpya sthitvā Mahāśīvena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā tam parājayya Tāmraparṇirājyaṅ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇirājyañ ca kārayan sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putras tv Elāras Tāmraparṇirājyaṁ labdhv Anurādhapure catuścatvāriṁśad varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kārayan sthitvā Dhṛṣta-Grāmaṇyabhayena parājitaḥ Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapure sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Tasya putraḥ Suvarṇṇapurarājena pradattabalaṅ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇidvīpam prāpya Vṛttagrāmaṇyabhayarājena yuddhaṁ kṛtvā tam parājayya rājyaṅ gṛhītvā saptadaśa varṣāṇy Anurādhapure rājyaṅ kārayan sthitaḥ. Vṛttagrāmaṇyabhayarājas tu Suvarṇṇapuram prāpya sthitvā Suvarṇṇapurarājena pradattabalaṁ gṛhītvā Tāmraparṇidvīpaṁ prāpya tatra sthitaṁ Śastra-Dramiḍarājam parājayya Tāmraparṇidvīpe rājyaṁ gṛhītvā saptadaśa varṣāṇi rājyaṁ kṛtvā sthitvā mṛtaḥ. Svasti.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

All the place names occurring in the English account have been included in the Index. Such names as Gandhāra or Pāṭaliputra, which are well known to students of Indian history, are given without identification. In the case of place names which are not so well known, some of which have been met with for the first time in our documents, the identification with the modern name, or an ancient name better known, has been given within round brackets following the Index entry. These identifications have been suggested by the context, or by philological considerations, or both. Examples are 'Gṛdhrāsya' for Gedrosia in classical writings and Balakṣapura for modern Balkh. Of the place names given below, some comments are necessary.

Haryaśva : I am not aware of the occurrence of this name of a kingdom in any published work. In a passage referring to the ancient Indus civilization, in a document dealing with the history of Dhātusena of Ceylon (459—477), mention is made of the ancient city at the place then known as Haryaśva. The reference here is clearly to Harappa. It is possible that there was a kingdom in the time of Candragupta of which the capital was at modern Harappa. But the Haryaśva kingdom is included at p. 49, among those territories ceded to Candragupta by Seleucus Nicator, as the price paid for releasing him from captivity. A kingdom in the area round modern Harappa would have been feudatory to the larger state of Pañcanada which Candragupta had already conquered. It was not therefore in the possession of Seleucus Nicator to be ceded by him to Candragupta. It is therefore likely that the Haryaśva kingdom was a territory to the west of the Indus, in the possession of Seleucus Nicator when he encountered Candragupta. Perhaps we have in the name Haryaśva an attempt to give a Sanskrit form to the Old Persian name Harahvaitī (see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 292). An error on the part of the scribes is not out of the question.

Māhiṣmata: This has been given as the name of a kingdom conquered by Dhīmitra, and re-conquered from him by the first Śuṅga king. Menander conquered it later from the Śuṅga king Agnimitra. The name does not appear to have any connection with Mahiṣmatī, the name of a city in the Narmadā Valley. There is no evidence that the Greeks conquered any place to the south of the Vindhyas. In the enumeration of the conquests of the Śuṅga king, the Māhiṣmata kingdom comes between the Mālava and the Paṇḍarapura (Vidiśā) kingdoms. In one passage giving the conquests of Dhīmitra, the name Mādhyamikā seems to have been given instead of Māhiṣmata in another passage (see pp. 78 and 84). If this assumption is correct, the Māhiṣmata kingdom may be identical with the

Mādhyamikā kingdom. The *Mahābhāṣya*, in an example, refers to the city of Mādhyamikā being besieged the Yavana king. Mādhyamikā is in the neighbourhood of Chitor in the Udaipur State of Rājputana.

Paṇḍarapura: From the context, it is clear that this name stands for Vidiśā. But, so far as I am aware, the name has not been used in any other source. In an account, culled from the *Rājavaṁśapustaka*, of the Stūpa called Sāṇacaitya (Sāñchi) on the Ahogaṅga-parvata near Paṇḍarapura, it is stated that the village in the vicinity of the Sañchi hill, which was later known as Kāka-nāda-boṭa, meaning "the fixed abode of the Kāka (i.e. Śaka) people, had the appelation of "Kākaṇḍaka" in ancient times. The latter name, it is said, is a compound of 'Kāka' and a Śāka word akin to Skt. *vṛnda*, which originally meant 'horde' and later denoted a 'camp' *Paṇḍara* in the name Paṇḍarapura has been explained as a Sanskritization of the Śaka word meaning 'camp'.

Puṇḍra: This name is applied in Sanskrit literature to West Bengal. In our documents, it is of frequent occurrence as the name of a region in South Kanara. In an account of Dhātusena, which has been indited on a number of stones, the principal city in the kingdom of Puṇḍra is given as Maṅgalapura, i.e. Mangalore.

Sārasvata: The area so called must have been so named because the river Sarasvatī flowed through it. In Old Persian this river was called Harahvaiti, and the region through which it flowed was called Harahvaiti in Avestan. This corresponds to the modern province of Kandahar (see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 292).

Śugdha: This name does not stand for Sogdiana as I thought when I first came across it. In an account of the kings who caused the Buddha images of Bamiyan (Brahmayāna) to be sculptured, the place is said to have been in the Sugdha kingdom. Some accounts have substituted "Suvāstu" for the "Sugdha" kingdom. It is said that this territory was at first known as Sugdhayāna which later assumed the form of "Huddiyāne" and was in use in the time of Mahā Buddharakṣita (4th century) as Udyāna. The situation of this region can be ascertained from the accounts left of it by Hsuan Tsang. Sugdhapura, the capital of the kingdom, appears to be represented by modern Haḍḍa.

Suvarṇṇakuḍya: From the account of the advance of Seleucus Nicator through the Suvarṇṇakuḍya kingdom towards Taxila, it appears that this territory was to the west of the Khyber Pass. The region called Paropanisada, i.e. the territory beyond (*parā*) and near (*upa*) the Niṣadha mountains, in the Greek sources, was also in this direction. Suvarṇṇakuḍya and Paropaniṣadha are given in the same list as two different kingdoms (p. 49). It may therefore be concluded that Suvarṇṇakuḍya was the eastern part of the Kābul Valley, while Paropaniṣadha comprised the western half. The second word in the compound Suvarṇṇa-

kuḍya has the meaning of "wall", but a name meaning "golden wall" does not appear to be an appropriate designation for a country. It is possible that *kuḍya* is the prototype of the Sinhalese word *kuḍu* meaning 'powder" or "dust", and that the region received this name on account of the gold dust that it produced. In later times, the name "Suvarṇṇakuḍya" was applied to Lower Burma (Rāmaññadesa) which also is a country where gold is found in the form of dust.

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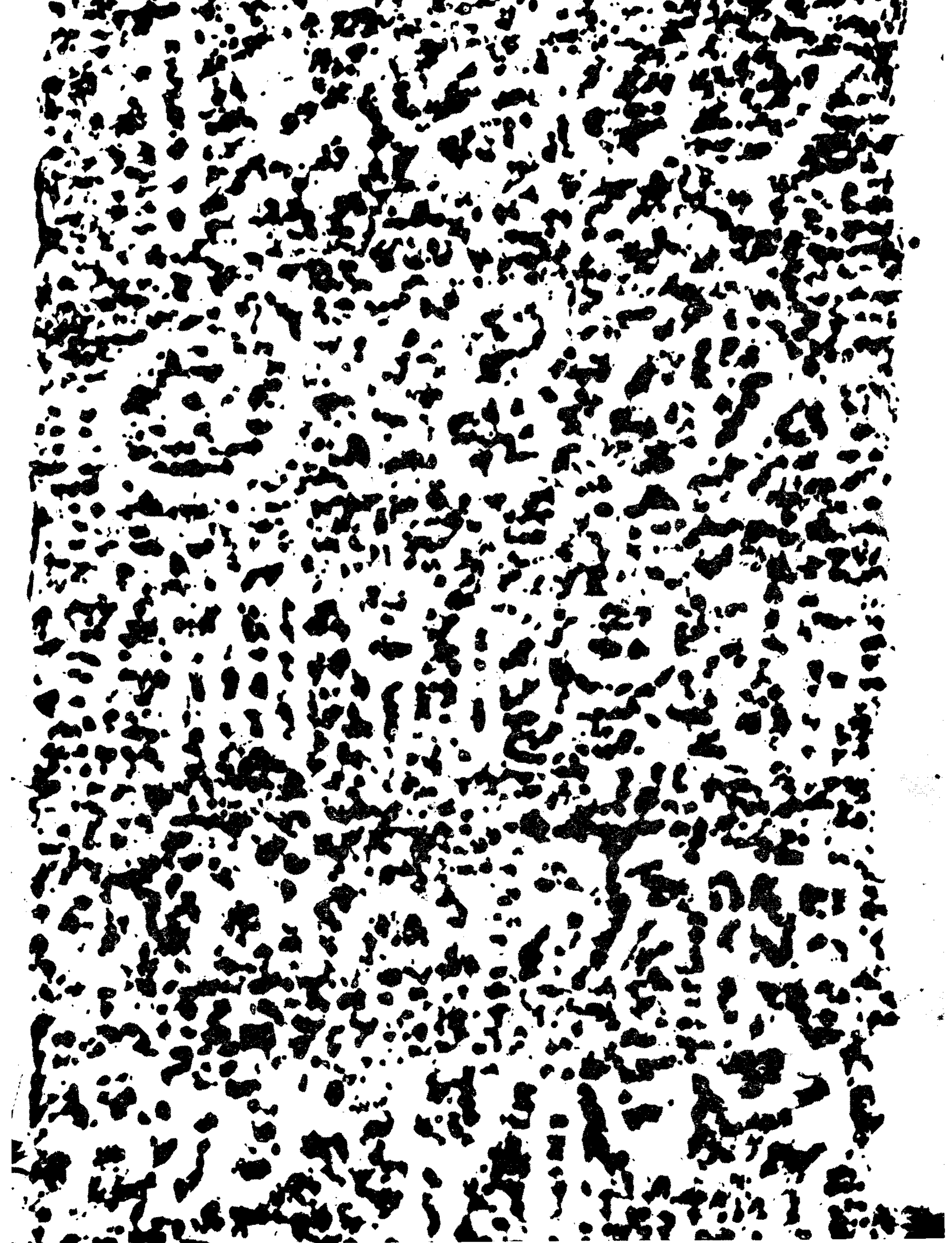
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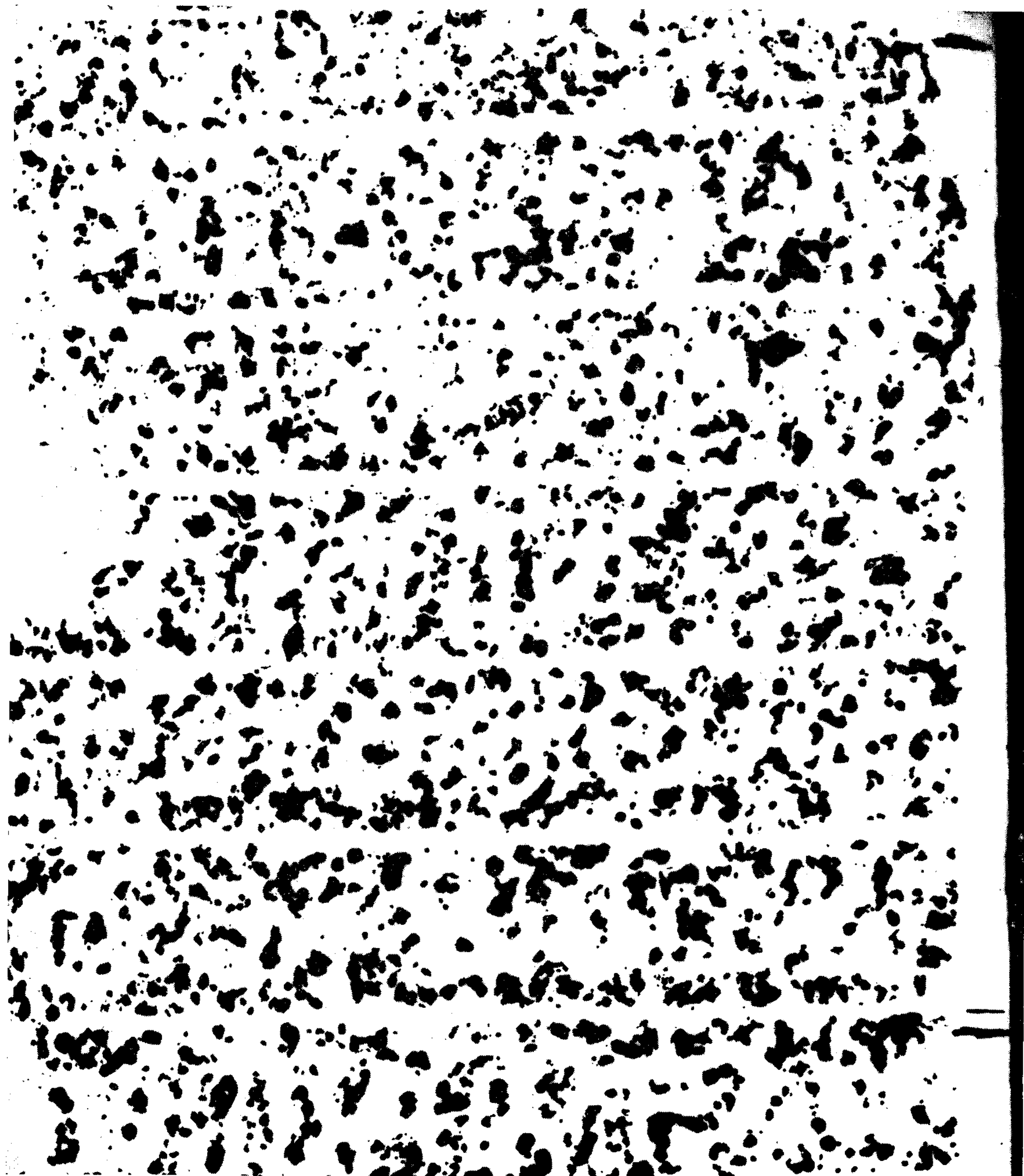
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(**Scale:** 6.2 in. to 1 ft.)

Plate 1. No. IV in List of Inscriptions at p. 127, Side A 7 in. from top to 2 ft. 1¼ in. Sections of the Yavanarājyavṛttānta intermingled with various other documents.



(Scale: 6.4 in. to 1 ft.)

Plate 2. No. VI in List of Inscriptions at p. 127, Side A, from top. Document No. I together with other writings below and above it.

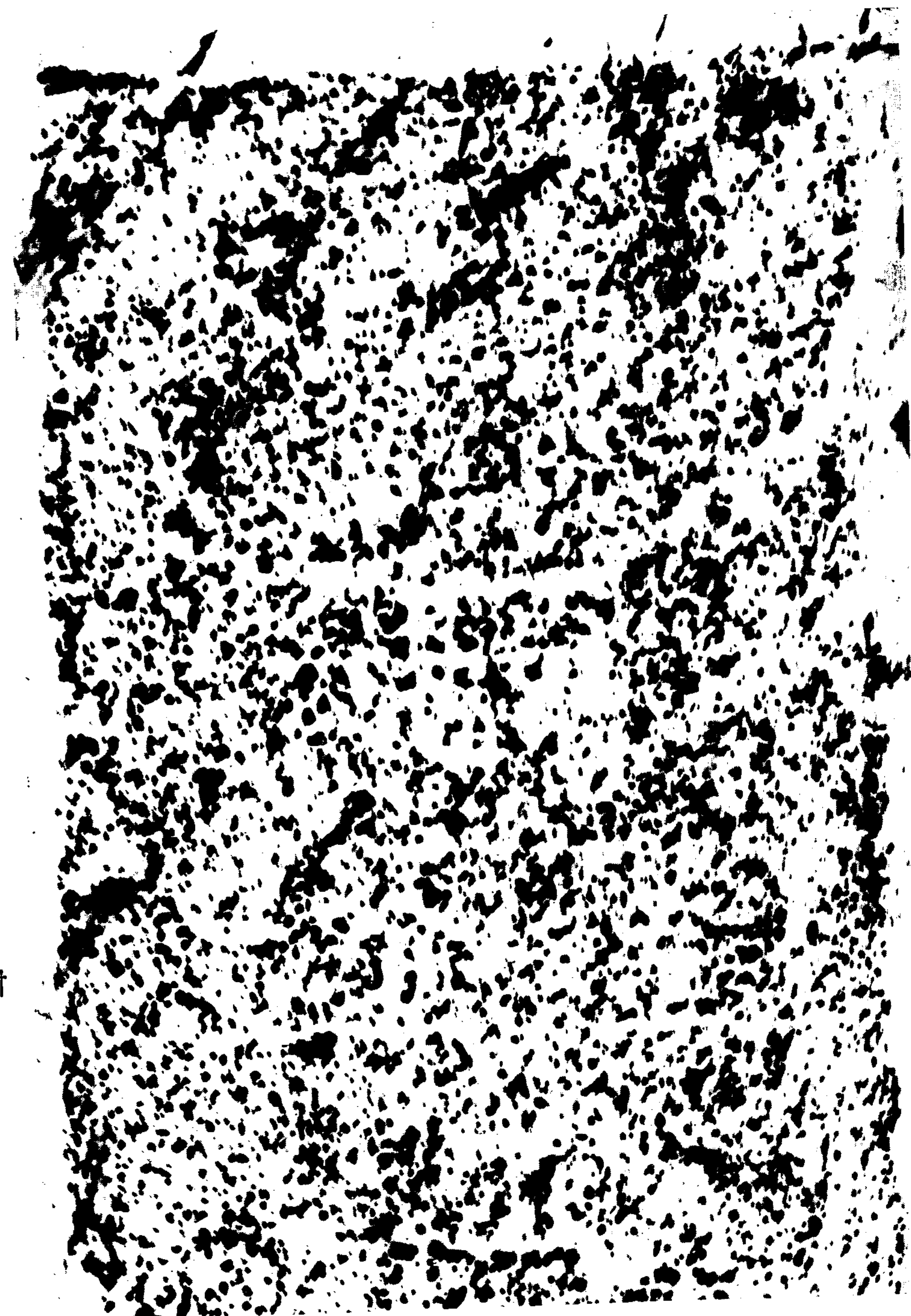
(Scale: 7.8 in. to 1 ft.)

Plate 3. No. XI in List of Inscriptions at p. 127. Side A, up to 10 in. from bottom. A passage from the *Yrv.* (p. 61. 7 ff.) over which are writings of a later date.

(Scale: about 8 in. to 1 ft.) *Plate* 5. No. XVII in List of Inscriptions at p. 127, containing text No. XI

(Scale: 6.4 in. to 1 ft.)

Plate 4. No. XIII in List of Illustrations at p. 127. Side A, from top downwards. The first few sections of the *Yrv*. The whole of the *Yrv*. has been written on this face of the pillar but



(Scale: 4.9 in. to 1 ft.)

Plate 7. No. XVIII in List of Inscriptions. Text XVIIa, starting at cross on left written in horizontal lines as well as those running diagonally upward. The first ending at cross on right side.